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A
SUMMARY
OF
THE HISTORY
OF
THE ENGLISH CHURCH,

AND OF
THE SECTS
WHICH HAVE DEPARTED FROM ITS COMMUNION;
WITH
ANSWERS TO EACH DISSENTING BODY
ON ITS PRETENDED GROUNDS OF SEPARATION.

BY JOHNSON GRANT, M.A.
OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

CARRYING DOWN THE NARRATIVE FROM THE EARLIEST
PERIODS TO THE REIGN OF JAMES I.

AND INCLUDING
A STATEMENT OF THE GROUNDS ON WHICH THE
Church of England
SEPARATED FROM THAT OF ROME.

"It is not St. Augustine's, or St. Ambrose's works, that will make so wise
a divine, as ecclesiastical history, thoroughly read and observed."—
LORD BACON.

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1811.

SUMMARY

THE HISTORY

THE BAYLEIGH CHURCH

THE SECT

WHICH HAVE DEPARTED FROM THE COMMUNION

ANSWERS TO THE CHURCHING BODY

OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

BY JOHN GRIFFITH

OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

1841

WHICH THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND HAS

AND WHICH ARE THE CHURCHING BODY

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TO THE
RIGHT REVEREND
THE LORD BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S,
PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN
KNOWLEDGE AND CHURCH UNION,

THIS HISTORY

OF

That Church,

OF WHICH HIS LORDSHIP IS SO DISTINGUISHED AN
ORNAMENT AND SUPPORT,

AND OF

Those Sects

WHICH THE MEASURES ADOPTED UNDER HIS DIRECTION
AND PATRONAGE, ARE THE MOST EFFECTUAL MEANS
OF SUPPRESSING OR COMBATING,

IS HUMBLY INSCRIBED,

IN TESTIMONY OF PROFOUND RESPECT,

BY

HIS LORDSHIP'S

OBLIGED AND FAITHFUL SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

*42, Edgware Road,
March 11, 1811.*

TO THE
RIGHT REVEREND
THE LORD BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S

THE SECRETARY OF THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN
KNOWLEDGE AND UNION

THIS HISTORY

OF THE
SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN
KNOWLEDGE AND UNION
IN THE
WELSH LANGUAGE

AND OF THE
SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING
CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE
AND UNION
IN THE
ENGLISH LANGUAGE

AND OF THE
SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING
CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE
AND UNION
IN THE
SCOTTISH LANGUAGE

AND OF THE
SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING
CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE
AND UNION
IN THE
IRISH LANGUAGE

AND OF THE
SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING
CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE
AND UNION
IN THE
GALICIAN LANGUAGE

AND OF THE
SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING
CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE
AND UNION
IN THE
PORTUGUESE LANGUAGE

PREFACE.

ON the first day of February, A. D. 1807, the Ecclesiastical Society of the Diocese of St. David's, for promoting Christian Knowledge and Church Union, inserted an advertisement in several periodical works, proposing a premium to the author of the best work, to be entitled, "A Summary of the History of the English Church, and of the Sects which have separated from its Communion, with short Answers addressed to each Sect, relative to its pretended Grounds of Dissent." The work which is now presented to the public eye, is formed on the skeleton of that smaller production, which, in the adjudication, was honoured with preference.

The Society having been pleased further to express a wish for the more extended circulation of my History, and having handsomely proposed to relieve the expense, by purchasing a considerable number of copies, I immediately replaced

the Work on the frame, with the intention of rendering it somewhat less unworthy of the flattering distinction which it had experienced; for the candidates having been required to transmit their performances, in the short space of three months from the date of the notice, it will readily be supposed, that many inaccuracies in the original statement of facts, as well as imperfections in reasoning and expression, must have escaped the most laborious and careful writer.

From that time to the present, I have devoted as many hours, as could be snatched from other professional avocations, to a diligent perusal of the older histories, which the former limitation of time permitted me to consult no further than in relation to a few of the more important points. By comparing these volumes with each other, as well as with the different more recent productions, I have been enabled to lay claim to at least one merit of an historical writer, that of fidelity in narration. To varying accounts, wherever they have occurred, I have applied the ordinary rules of evidence, making allowance for the acknowledged prejudices of different historians; and, with this limitation, adopting authorities, neither too

near to the facts in question, nor too remote from them ; and preferring, amongst historians nearly contemporary, the majority to the smaller number.

I have, likewise, endeavoured to exercise a more mature and deliberate judgment, in regard to the selection of facts ; but having found, in perusing the older histories, much matter which appeared extremely valuable, although unnoticed in later narratives, I have been unavoidably compelled to enlarge my own work, beyond its original dimensions. By dismissing, however, a few facts formerly introduced, and compressing others, which, though also of minor importance, seemed still deserving of being retained, I trust I shall be considered as having yet restricted the publication within bounds sufficiently narrow to preserve its character of a Summary.

With this view, I have chiefly, in the historical part of the work, confined myself to a perspicuous and compressed narrative, seldom indulging, at any considerable length, in those reflections which the facts suggested. I have endeavoured, however, I know not whether with success, to avoid what appears to be the leading

fault, in the several historians whom I have consulted; I mean, their want of judgment in selection, and in arrangement. No one, in any degree conversant in their writings, can fail to have remarked, that they are annalists rather than historians, moving to and fro from parliament to convocation, and from England to Rome, for the purpose of recording the transactions of each year, and filling their ponderous volumes with dull speeches and prolix epistles, or with the idle details of a gossiping biography.

Time has, likewise, been now afforded me, for extending my reading, and methodizing my observations, with reference to the various sects; but as, in this most important part of the labour, a more ample discussion than that originally written, appeared, in particular instances, to be expedient, I have omitted, in the title-page, the epithet Short, which was at first specified, as a requisite quality of the answers.

I feel, on the whole, very deeply conscious of my incompetence to doing full justice to so arduous an undertaking; and it is not without a trembling, and even a reluctant hand, that I now transmit to public notice, my humble and feeble

endeavour to fulfil it. One consideration, however, there is, which, I trust, will conciliate for me some portion of indulgence. Though I might probably have drawn up a work of this nature, for my private information and use, it is by no means one, to the publication of which my inclination would ever have led me, if it had not been stimulated by the circumstances above related. The motto annexed to the sealed paper inclosing my name, consisted of these words: "If not to succeed, at least to improve;" and unless this latter alternative had presented itself, I am certain that self-distrust would have checked my views, and a predilection for other branches of theological science prevented my exertions, directed towards the former.

I have, for the most part, avoided filling my pages with references, not being satisfied that any great advantage would accrue from such an additional labour. A few authorities have, however, been cited, either in the form of notes, or in the body of the work, when they seemed particularly requisite. To those who wish for more minute information, on any of the facts or topics introduced, it will, I hope, be deemed sufficient to

state in general, that my chief sources of information in the historical narrative, have been the works of Fuller, Collier, Heylin, Burnet, Warner, Henry, Neale, and Mosheim; and likewise those of Stillingfleet, Wake, Kennett, Burn, and Adam; although I have likewise occasionally consulted nearly all the older historians and biographers; and, indeed, searched in every quarter for accurate and complete intelligence.

Of the authors above mentioned, I have, in many places, compressed the statements, and, in some, woven into my narrative a few of the phrases, when they appeared peculiarly expressive; nor, as utility and completeness of information were my leading object, have I scrupled to select what suited my purpose, wherever I have been able to find it.

Were I here to specify the great variety of volumes, which I have necessarily perused, or consulted, in stating and discussing the principles of the different Sects, I should only, I apprehend, merit the imputation of wishing to make an ostentatious, and, perhaps, a needless parade of my industry. I shall only, therefore, observe, that,

wherever I may have erred, it has not been through any failure in point of diligence.

With respect to the replies to the tenets of the different sects, it is obvious, that I have been precluded, by the nature of the Work, from descending into very minute particulars, or expanding the arguments used, by copious illustrations. It will hardly be candid, then, in the professors of any sect, to accuse me of superficial investigation. To have replied to all at any considerable length, would have swelled the Work to many volumes, and, indeed, would have required much ampler knowledge, than any one individual could bring to the discussion.

I have only further to add, that it has been my humble desire, and earnest endeavour, to speak of each dissenting body with perfect candour, and as much of Christian charity, as consists with the defences I have undertaken, and as it is proper for one fallible and imperfect being to exercise towards his brethren.

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ERRATA.

- Page 19, line 1, *for* Horace's, *read*, Ovid's.
 85, — 2, *for* we have, *read*, shall be.
 100, — 8 from bottom, *for* descendants, *read*, successors.
 112, — 5 and 6, *for* their great patron, *read*, the great patron of
 their order.
 140, — 1 and 2, *for* sacred and profane, *read*, ecclesiastical and
 civil.
 160, — 6 from bottom, *for* commuunity, *read*, community.
 223, — 6, *after* Shelah, *read*, who, it is to be observed, was.
 229, — 5 from bottom, *read*, are to be condemned.
 233, — last, *for* diocesans, *read*, diocesan superintendence.
 256, — 4 from bottom, *for* vacillating, *read*, wavering.
 388, — 17, *for* Knox, *read*, him.
 400, — 6 from bottom, *after* unable, *place a comma*.
 406, — 9 from bottom, *for* still as, *read*, as still.
 407, — 1, *for* procession, *read*, precession.
 425, — 13, *before* regulations, *insert*, subsequent.
 429, — 6 from bottom, *for* complyng, *read*, complying.
 441, — 8 from bottom, *after* religion, *read*, by a few plain, sig-
 nificant rites; as well as.

HISTORY
OF THE
ENGLISH CHURCH AND SECTS.

CHAPTER I.

**FROM THE FIRST APPEARANCE OF CHRISTIANITY
IN BRITAIN, TO THE ARRIVAL OF THE
ANGLO-SAXONS.**

Contents.

*I. Legendary Accounts to be disregarded.—II. Facility
afforded by the Roman Conquests to the Progress of
Christianity in Britain.—III. Cause of the Scan-
tiness of Facts: First authentic Accounts in the third
Century.—IV. State of Church Government in Bri-
tain, during the three first Centuries.—V. Fourth Cen-
tury: Bishops present at early Councils.—VI. Mo-
nastery of Banchor.—VII. Fifth Century: Pelagian
Heresy.—VIII. Refutation of the Doctrines of Pe-
lagius.*

I. IF, in writing any history, we carry up our
views into highly remote ages, we shall have to
grope our way through much darkness, and must
beware of mistaking legends for facts. The his-
torian, who, disregarding this caution, shall re-
cord, without limitation, in his first pages, early

unauthenticated accounts, excites, with regard to facts, less distant, and better substantiated, a scepticism, which would not otherwise have arisen.

In applying this remark to the narrative on which we are entering, we may observe, that, although the testimony of several writers, and the intimate connexion and intercourse subsisting betwixt provincial Britain and the Roman metropolis, render it highly probable, that the Gospel was introduced into the former country before the end, or about the middle of the first century, it is not easy to ascertain, with precision, the individual, to whom we are indebted for its original communication, or the precise period, at which a Christian church was first planted in our island.

A multitude of authors, cited by Usher, ascribe the introduction of the religion of Jesus among the Britons, to James, the son of Zebedee; but as it is certain (Acts, xii. 1, 2) that this Apostle was put to death by Herod, in the ninth year after our Saviour's resurrection, these testimonies are little to be relied on. Simon Zelotes, St. Peter, St. Andrew, and St. Paul, have each of them respectively been mentioned by other writers, as having first addressed the words of salvation to our ancestors. The same honour has been attributed to Aristobulus, saluted by St. Paul (Rom. xvi.) as the father of a domestic church in Rome; to Joseph of Arimathea, and to

Polycarp, "the angel of the church of Smyrna." (Revel.) No one of these representations, however, appears to rest on evidence sufficiently solid, to raise it above the faintest probability.

II. In exterminating the priesthood of the Druidical superstition, the legions of Rome were unconsciously preparing the way, for the more ready admission of the true faith: which would naturally encounter less opposition amongst the vanquished, than if the religion of their forefathers had continued to flourish, supported by the persuasions and authority of its ministers.

Still more effectually did Roman ambition facilitate the accomplishment of the same end, by subjecting under one common dominion, the various petty states of the southern Britons: thus putting a period to their continual contests, and establishing amongst them an easy communication. This state of things renders it highly probable, that many parts of the island had, early in the second century, been visited by preachers of the new religion; whom, indeed, a desire to escape from the persecutions, sustained by their brethren, under Domitian, Trajan, and Adrian, must have furnished with an additional motive, for resorting to this remote province of the empire. To these united causes it seems to have been owing, that the day-spring shone out on an island afar off from its source, while a number of intervening coun-

tries on the continent, were enveloped, during many subsequent years, in darkness.

It is, nevertheless, by no means likely, that the first British converts to a religion, publicly discredited, plain in its rites, and preached in general by timid refugees, were either numerous or of eminent rank. Lucius, the reputed sovereign of a southern district, is mentioned by several writers, as having embraced Christianity about the year of our Lord 150*; but, as the Romans were at that time masters of the country, this story contradicts itself.

III. The scantiness of information, elucidating our ecclesiastical history, in these remote periods, is thus accounted for by the historian Gildas: “Scripta patriæ, scriptorumve monumenta, si quæ fuerint, aut ignibus hostium exusta, aut civium exulum classe longius deportata, non comparent.”

It is not until the commencement of the third century, that authentic narrative succeeds to uncertainty, in regard to the state of Christianity amongst our ancestors. But from the joint authority of Tertullian and Origen†, who acquaint us, that it had penetrated, at that epoch, into districts of our island beyond the rampart of Severus, “inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo vero

* Bede, Eccles. Hist. Monastic. Ang. vol. iii. 138.

† Orig. Hom. Ezekiel, 4. Tertull. adversus Jud. c. vii. See also Gildas, Hist. p. 11. Bede, Eccles. Hist. c. iv.

subdita," we may presume that it had already, for a considerable space of time, prevailed within the Roman province.

Happy in being almost entirely overlooked in the great mass of the empire, as the *ultimi orbis Britanni*, the early converts had hitherto lived in security from the nine persecutions which had already raged in all such parts of the Roman territory, as lay more contiguous to the seat of power. But at length, towards the close of the reign of Dioclesian, and in the first years of the fourth century, the storm, which had so often muttered at a distance, swept over this remote country. On this occasion, the first martyrdom which stands on record, as endured in our island, was inflicted on Alban, the British Stephen, who was put to death on a rising ground, called Holm-hurst, close to his native city of Verulamium; a place which has ever since preserved his memory, by retaining the name of St. Albans.

IV. Our knowledge of the general history of Christianity in Britain, during the three first centuries, being thus faint and imperfect, we must necessarily be still less able fully to ascertain the internal condition of the churches, with regard to their doctrine or discipline. From all the accounts of the earliest historians, however, they appear to have held the faith in great purity, at least until the beginning of the fourth century. The clergy were supported by the contributions

of their respective congregations, and by the profits arising from such houses and lands, as were bequeathed to them by pious individuals.—Stillingfl. Orig. Brit. ch. 4.

An indigent people, it will readily be supposed, were unable to be very liberal in maintaining the ecclesiastical body: but the state of church revenues at an early period, and before the nascent institution enjoyed the favour of the civil government, ought evidently to form no precedent for regulating, either the mode of collection, or the measure of provision, in wealthier times, and when Christianity has become the established faith.

No commission whatever, from Rome, was borne by our first preachers. They probably, indeed, delivered the same doctrines, which then prevailed in that city: but let not the modern Roman Catholic hence pretend, that his religion, in its present form, was the primitive creed of Britain; for, as an early writer has well observed, “that faith of the Romish church, which is said by St. Paul to have gone abroad unto all men, is not less different from its present corruptions, than the Latin of Cicero from the language of modern Italy.”—*Fuller*.

In this country, as well as in many others, the first places of Christian worship were, for the most part, the same temples, which had formerly been dedicated to Pagan deities. From the de-

scription of a church which stood at Glastonbury, we may form some conception of the rude buildings of our ancestors, in these early centuries. It is represented as consisting of wattled rods ; its length being 60 feet, and its breadth 26.

V. *Fourth Century*.—Dioclesian and Maximian having resigned the purple in the year 305, Constantius Chlorus was publicly acknowledged as joint Emperor with Galerius *. Chlorus happened to be at this time in Britain, where his humanity, for he does not appear to have been himself a Christian convert, put an immediate stop to the persecutions inflicted by the former sharers of the imperial power. He died in the year following at York, having bequeathed the empire to his son ; to whose protection and favour, he, in his last moments, recommended his Christian subjects. This young prince, Constantine the Great, did not prove unmindful of his parent's injunctions ; having, doubtless, been raised up by the hand of Providence, that he might shelter Christianity under the arm of civil power, and place it beyond the reach of future persecution.

The beneficial effects of Constantine's conversion were, almost immediately, participated by the British church, of which the peaceful and thriving condition is indicated by the appearance of the bishops of York, London, and a third place, en-

Bede, Hist. lib. i. Euseb. de Vita Constant. lib. i. chap. 11.

titled Colonia Londinensium, perhaps Colchester, at the council of Arles, convened by that Emperor, in the year 314. Such assemblies, formerly held in secret, for establishing ecclesiastical regulations, were, from this time, convoked by the Roman sovereign, who often presided at their deliberations in person. When at one of them, held at Rimini, in Italy, in the year 329, the Emperor Constantius offered a public support to the various dignitaries of the West who were present, it is recorded that all declined availing themselves of the munificent proposal, excepting three of the British bishops, who were unwilling to be burdensome to their own more opulent brethren.

From the assistance thus afforded by the prelates of Britain in different continental synods, we may presume that several of them were present at the council of Nice, A. D. 325, where the Arian heresy was formally condemned; a circumstance which discredits the testimony of Gildas, who accuses his countrymen of having been infected with that error, in a short time after its appearance. Gildas indeed appears, in every part of his work, in the light of a prejudiced and violent writer, whose aspersions took the tone of his intemperate zeal. Still further to confute his charge of Arianism, we may remark, that the proceedings of the above-mentioned council of Rimini were opened with a declaration in favour

of the creed of Nice; and that in an epistle, addressed by Athanasius and the council of Antioch, A. D. 363, to the Emperor Jovian, that monarch is expressly informed, that the bishops of Britain continue in their orthodoxy; a testimony shortly after confirmed by the fathers Jerome and Chrysostome, who flourished in the end of the same century.

There is an analogy betwixt civil and ecclesiastical government, which, in most countries, has reduced them to a similar form. Agreeably to this principle, the Christian church was every where modelled by Constantine and his successors, in conformity with the subordination prevailing in the state. Thus, as Britain consisted of five provinces, it appears to have supported five archbishoprics. These, however, were still entirely independent of the sway of any foreign ecclesiastic.

The council of Arles, at which, as we have seen, a deputation of British prelates assisted, addressed the Roman bishop, in transmitting to him a complimentary account of their proceedings, by no higher title, than "*Frater dilectissime*;" adding, "*Te pariter nobis judicante, coetus noster majore lætitiâ exultasset.*"

It is true, that at the council of Sardica, in Thrace, A. D. 375, the power of receiving appeals from the bishops in the western churches, was granted to the Bishop of Rome, under certain

limitations; but, even in this instance, he was invested with no higher authority, than that entrusted, as a matter of convenience, to an arbiter. Provincial synods, and not Papal decisions, had been appointed by the Nicene fathers, as the tribunals of ultimate appeal, throughout Christendom.

No sooner did the Christian faith rejoice in the smile of imperial patronage, than it laid aside its plain attire, and began to be decorated with the splendours of pomp and ceremony. The British churches, however, being yet poor, retained the simplicity of ancient devotion, some time longer than those of the continent.

From the promptitude, it is true, which our country manifested, in complying with less costly deviations from primitive Christianity, it is not uncandid to suspect or to affirm, that she sighed after a magnificence which she could not purchase, and to withhold from the homely apparel of indigence, a praise due only to the self-denial of purity. Her sons wandered, or rather swarmed over the continent, in the rising fanaticism for making pilgrimages to Jerusalem; a frenzy, which St. Jerome thus sagaciously condemned: "The Britons," says he, "quit the western sun, and go in quest of a climate, of which they know nothing; but the way to heaven may be found with the same ease in Britain as at Jerusalem, for the kingdom of God is within you."

While these peregrinations were undertaken by superstition, the pious St. Keby, by his preaching and example, encouraged a rational devotion at home. He was scholar to Hilary, a learned bishop of Poitiers, and afterwards lived in the island of Anglesey; where the memory of both the pupil and preceptor is to this day preserved, in the two promontories, known by the names of Holyhead and Hilary Point.

VI. Prior to the close of the fourth century, several monasteries were established in Britain, particularly that of Banchor, not far from Chester. But it must not be imagined that the monks of Banchor bore any resemblance to those lazy friars, who, in later ages, lived only to consume the fruits of our island. These were a fraternity of industrious characters, drawn together by the common bond of piety; maintaining themselves by their respective trades, and performing sacred offices in a regular rotation, which, as their numbers amounted to upwards of two thousand, did not materially interrupt their manual labour.

VII. *Fifth Century.*—The former half of the fifth century was equally inauspicious to the civil and the ecclesiastical welfare of Britain. To the horrors of war, pestilence, and famine, were added fierce contentions arising from schism. First in that long list of heresies, which it will be our office to recount, and our endeavour to confute, appear the errors of Pelagius. These

now began to disturb that unity of the spirit, and bond of peace, in which the faith of our ancestors had hitherto been held.

The father of the separatists was a native of Wales, who bore the real surname of Morgan, a word signifying an inhabitant of the sea-coast, and hence exchanged; after the manner of the times, for the correspondent Greek appellative of Pelagius. His history may be comprized in a few words. He was a monk of Banchor, endowed with much sense and learning, and is treated with respect by his opponent, Augustine, who calls him a pious man, and a Christian of no vulgar rank. He lived a long time at Rome, where he was received into the best society; but, on the sacking of that city by Alaric, A. D. 410, he passed over into Africa, and assisted at the celebrated conference held in the same year at Carthage, betwixt the Catholics and Donatists. A discovery of his heterodox principles, however, disappointed his hopes of being admitted amongst the Carthaginian presbyters, and accordingly, taking leave of this region, he travelled into Egypt, and at last settled at Jerusalem; from whence he never returned to his native country. Happy for that country, had his opinions died along with him; but these remained, in a commentary on St. Paul's writings, a confession of faith, and several letters, all still extant, together with a book on free-will, which is lost, to spread

corruption and bitter animosity, throughout the church in which he had been nurtured. As it is natural for the inhabitants of any nation to examine with attention, and even with some partiality, speculations advanced by their fellow-countrymen of eminence, it will readily be supposed that the errors of Pelagius would find an easy entrance into Britain. In fact, while that heresiarch procured adherents, by his personal activity, in Italy, Africa, and the East; was patronised by John, bishop of Jerusalem, from the resemblance of his doctrines to those of Origen; and was even acquitted at Diospolis by a synod of fourteen bishops;—Celestius, a Scotsman, Agricola, and several others, were employed in disseminating his creed of self-righteousness throughout his native country.

The orthodox clergy of Britain, unable to cope with these antagonists, solicited and received assistance from Lupus and Germanus, the Gallic bishops of Auxerre and Troyes. A public disputation was held at St. Albans, before an immense concourse of people, betwixt these missionaries and the apostles of Pelagianism: “where on the one side,” says Fuller, “was faith; on the other, presumption; here meekness, there pride; here Christ, and there Pelagius.” The result of such a contest was what might have been predicted. A vain parade of inconclusive declamation being answered by solid argument derived from Scripture, reason, and the writings of the

early fathers, the presumptuous heretics were driven from the field. The same two prelates, not long afterwards, appeared in a military capacity, commanding the Britons in an engagement with the Picts, at a place called Maes Garmon, in Flintshire; where they are said, in the superstitious annals of the times, to have gained a bloodless victory, by terrifying the enemy with shouts of Hallelujah. It is indeed not improbable, that an unintelligible word, loudly uttered by a multitude of armed men, may have spread a panic throughout the opposing army, without the intervention of a miracle. Hardly had these victorious disputants and warriors returned into their own country, when their baffled antagonists resumed the labour of promulgating the new heresy; and the Britons, still incompetent to defend their convictions, once more supplicated assistance from their former able and successful champions. In compliance with this request, the Bishop of Auxerre returned: and hence he has been thus addressed by a poet:

Tuque O! cui toto discretos orbe Britannos

Bis penetrare datum, bis intima cernere magni

Monstra maris, &c.

Heresy was now a second time overcome, principally by the reasonings of this learned prelate, though, in part, by his influence with the secular power, which, for the present, effectually terminated the controversy, by banishing the chief Pe-

lagians from the island. The orthodox faith, retrieved in this manner, immediately before the arrival of the Saxons, continued for a long time uncorrupted: not suffering from the adoption of a liturgy, introduced by the two Gallican ecclesiastics, as the doctrines contained in that form of service were entirely free from the superstitious errors, which had now begun to creep into the Romish ritual *.

VIII. The doctrines of Pelagius may be compendiously exhibited in the following nine propositions:

1. The death of Adam was not the consequence of his transgression: he was naturally mortal, and would have died had he continued innocent.

2. His sin affected only himself; and not any of his descendants.

3. Children are born innocent, exactly in the condition of Adam before the fall.

4. Baptism does not deliver from sin; but merely adopts the baptized person into the kingdom of God.

5. The resurrection of men does not follow from that of Christ.

6. The law qualified men for the kingdom of heaven, and was founded on equal promises with the Gospel.

7. Men may be virtuous in most cases, by the

* For the difference of opinion betwixt the churches, see Collier, lib. i. cent. 5. 48, 49, 50.

freedom of their own will, and the exertion of their natural strength, unaided by the grace of God.

8. When the grace of God is bestowed, it is given according to merit.

9. Rich men must part with all their possessions.

Of these opinions let us treat in order. We shall find that no very profound reflection, or intimate acquaintance with Scripture, is requisite to detect their fallacy.

1. That Adam was not naturally mortal, is evident from the very terms of the trial on which he was placed: "*In the day that thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die;*"—Gen. ii. or, in other words, (since Adam is known to have lived several hundred years after his trespass), in that day shalt thou become liable to death:—and that his death was the result and punishment of his transgression, appears from Romans, v. 12: "*Wherefore, by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin.*"

2, 3. In replying to the second and third doctrines of the Pelagian heresy, which, for the sake of convenience, may be thrown together, we shall endeavour to prove the three following propositions: viz.

1st, In consequence of the fall of Adam, his posterity are all born with a taint of hereditary evil.

2dly, It is to this inborn, inherited depravity, and therefore, primarily, to the fall which occasioned it, that the universal mortality of the human race is owing.

3dly, As an additional result of the same transmitted fault and corruption, that is, originally, of the same fall, the children of Adam are, all of them, by nature, children of wrath, or liable to the divine displeasure.

1st. In consequence of the fall of our great progenitor, his posterity are all born with a taint of hereditary evil.

In the threshold of inquiry, and before taking the sacred volume into our hands, unprejudiced minds may prepare the way for any information on this head which it may contain, by listening to the voice of personal experience. Does not every individual discover in his own breast a certain propensity to evil, which appears to form a part of his nature? Does he not recollect with sorrow innumerable instances in which this propensity has hurried him, even against the decision and remonstrance of his principles, into actual transgressions? None, it is true, are totally and thoroughly depraved; but has not every one, either in temper, appetite, or passion, some sin which easily besets him? Do not evil habits glide along with the stream, while good habits move against it?

Observe, likewise, how naturally we acknow-

ledge the existence of this innate tendency to transgression—how constantly we take it for granted, in our whole conduct towards our brethren, in society. Whence, but from an universal consciousness of this defect, the reciprocal distrust observable between man and man? our reluctance in bestowing confidence on strangers? our suspicion of the motives which have led our fellow-men to great or beneficent actions? Whence the strict caution which men employ in securing property with bars and bolts, and in ratifying transactions with signatures and seals? Why are oaths administered in courts of justice? Why are characters scrupulously demanded in engaging domestics? Who would not confidently foretell, that a child left to itself, taught no principle, and restrained by no authority, would almost inevitably prove a vicious member of society?

And if the worthless greatly outnumber the upright; if even the best have many imperfections and failings; what are these facts but confirmations of the same doctrine?—the corruption of nature taking its regular course; original sin evolving itself in action.

Indeed, the tainted condition of human nature was acknowledged by many of the Heathen philosophers, historians, and poets; although they were greatly perplexed, as without a revelation they well might be, in endeavouring to ac-

count for it. Horace's "*Video meliora proboque, deteriora sequor*," is obviously only a different way of rendering St. Paul's account of this wayward tendency: "To will is present with me; but how to perform that which is good, I find not." Thus were both agreed as to the fact; natural religion felt the disease, though ignorant that its name was Adam*.

But this, say the Pelagians, is begging the question. Admitting the existence of a general tendency to evil, their principles refer it, not to

* Voltaire, and several other writers, have boldly asserted, that the doctrine of original sin was wholly unknown to the Jews. St. Paul, however, reasons with that people, from Adam's sin, to redemption by Christ, as if inheritance of evil from the former were a doctrine with which they were familiarly acquainted. It may further be remarked, that, under the law, circumcision was held to be emblematical of the casting away of corruption. See the allegorical sense of the fall in Warburton's *Div. Leg.* lib. 9.

Voltaire denies, in like manner, that this doctrine was known to the primitive Christians; but Wall, by producing passages from the writings of the early fathers, has most clearly demonstrated, that this proposition is not less assumed than the former. Clement of Rome, who flourished A. D. 70, writes: "There is no one free from pollution, though his life were but a day long;" and Irenæus, A. D. 184, speaks of "our being brought into bondage by our first parents, and of our being cleansed and washed from such things as are of a deadly nature."—Wall's *Inf. Baptism*.

"Doctrines," says Professor Hay, "are not stated with greater precision, till they become the subjects of controversy."—*Divinity Lectures*.

hereditary depravity, not even to a fault of nature, but to improper education, to the influence of bad example, to the force of habit: while they ascribe our suspicions of other men to our past experience of the operations of these several causes. Turning, therefore, to such proofs as they will deem admissible, we would first ask, with reference to the innateness of this propensity, in what manner they can surmount, or reconcile to their hypothesis, such positive authorities as the following: “I know that in me dwelleth no good thing” (Rom. vii. 18); “The imagination of man’s heart is evil from his youth” (Gen. viii. 21); “The heart is deceitful above all things” (Jer. xvii. 9).

To state the argument under a different form; it may be affirmed, that the words of the Apostle, “There is none righteous, no not one” (Rom. iii. 10); and again, “The Scripture hath concluded all under sin” (Gal. iii. 22); might, when applied to infants, (and why should they not be so applied?) suffice to refute the Pelagian assertion, that children are at their birth as pure as Adam was prior to the period of his fall.

Christ died for ALL mankind. Infants, being included in this number, stand in need of a mediator, in common with adults: and as they cannot have committed actual trespasses, that which requires atonement in their case must necessarily be a certain fault in their nature. According to

the Pelagian hypothesis, an infant dying before he had committed any actual offence, would constitute an exception to the doctrine of universal redemption. Besides, when the whole human race are told that they cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven until they shall have been BORN AGAIN; that when they are in Christ they are NEW CREATURES; that that which is BORN of the flesh is flesh, while that which is born of the spirit is spirit:—do not these strong phrases most pointedly refer to some fault of the natural birth? They too are universal; they are applicable to infants; and therefore it is quite in vain to pretend that they are confined to the degeneracy contracted by actual trespasses.

That the tendency to evil, then, observable in the human race, is to be ascribed only to INNATE corruption, is clearly evident from Scripture. We next maintain, that the same sacred authority proves this corruption to be HEREDITARY. “Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean?” (Job, iv. 4); “Behold, I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me” (Psalm li. 5). Nay, the word of truth follows the evil in question back to its very earliest origin. “By one man’s disobedience sin entered into the world” (Rom. v. 12); or, “many were made sinners” (Rom. v. 19); not, however, by the following or imitation of Adam, as the Pelagians do vainly talk (see Article 9th), in other words, not by the

commission of ACTUAL offences: "For this judgment has passed upon ALL men by the offence of one" (Rom. v. 18); and infants dying soon after their birth do not commit actual offences. It is therefore the *disposition* to sin which is hereditary, and which is derived to all, from one man's offence and disobedience. Indeed, St. Paul's statement of the doctrine of justification by faith is an application of the history of Adam. It is a deduction from an alleged universal debasement, by descent from an ancestor who had debased his own nature. The Apostle traces the degeneracy of the offspring up to the degeneracy of the parent. He accounts for the corruption of the branches by exposing the fault of the root.

2dly. It is to this inborn, inherited depravity, and, therefore, primarily to the fall which occasioned it, that the universal mortality of the human race is owing.

The fact of universal mortality being evident, the only question under this head relates to its origin. Now, if this mortality is not to be ascribed to the cause here assigned, it may happen by a decree independent of the fall, or as a punishment of the crime of Adam, or as a punishment of our *actual* trespasses. If Adam HIMSELF, as has been shown above, was not naturally mortal, but became so in consequence of the fall, it is fair to infer, that if the fall had not taken place, his posterity would not have been, by na-

ture, liable to death, any more than their progenitor. To the fall, therefore, they owe their mortality: a conclusion thus rendered infallible by Scripture: "By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin." Rom. v. 12. But in what manner does this consequence ensue? Not as a punishment of Adam's crime; for that is supposed to have been forgiven by the Almighty to Adam himself, upon his repentance. It results from a certain personal sinfulness, in which, since the fall, the whole human race are involved. For the words immediately succeeding the passage which we have just now quoted, are these: "And so death passed upon all men: for that all have sinned." Rom. v. 12. Death is here distinctly stated to be, in all, the punishment of their sin. All, then, who die must have previously sinned: but children of an hour old, before they have committed any actual offence, often partake of the common dissolution. "Death reigned from Adam to Moses, even over them that had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression." Rom. v. 14. Death, then, is primarily, not the result and punishment of ACTUAL offences:—from whence it follows, that the sin of which death is the punishment is no other than original depravity, an inborn fault and corruption. And it has been shown above, that this is an hereditary taint, derived from Adam's debase-

ment of his nature. To this hereditary taint, then, is human mortality to be attributed.

3. It now remains to be shown, in the third place, that the taint of evil, thus derived, is followed by a liability to wrath: that the sin of Adam affected his posterity, by communicating to them not only the above-mentioned degeneracy, but a consequent exposure to punishment. We are told in Rom. v. 18, that "by the offence of one, judgment came upon ALL men unto CONDEMNATION." We must not understand, let it be once more observed, that God imputes to the human race, the crime of Adam's eating the forbidden fruit. The doctrine of Scripture is, that our first ancestor, by his great act of disobedience, corrupted his nature, and produced a corrupted offspring; who, being by nature prone to evil, are "by nature, the children of wrath." Ephes. ii. 3.

Original sin, death, and liability to wrath, therefore, are now proved to have been the three consequences of the fall, experienced by all mankind.

To repel the charge of severity, on the part of God, which has been directed against this doctrine, let the following considerations be weighed:

1st. As the doctrine refers to infants, let it be recollected, that they have that fund of depravity within them, which, if they should live and grow up, would assuredly propel them into actual evil. Now, it is the mind, the intention of rebellion, that con-

stitutes the crime, and merits the punishment. Men require an overt act, as, to them, the only demonstration of this intention : God, who sees the heart, has no occasion for such proof. And if the tenth commandment, together with several passages in the sermon on the mount, respecting anger, lust, and hatred of enemies, show that concupiscence hath of itself the nature of sin ; a latent principle which would in time give rise to transgression, may bear a similar relation to it, with concupiscence, in the mind of the Deity.

2dly. To deserve wrath is something, nevertheless, widely different from actually suffering its effects : to be amenable to the law implies not necessary punishment. The wrath of God is neutralized by baptism : and may not a Being, at once omnipotent and merciful, remit the menaced punishment of an infant dying unbaptized, as well as of adults, who, through no fault of their own, have never received the first sacrament ?

3dly. With reference to grown persons ; whatever evils have been brought, by the sin of Adam, upon his posterity, are cancelled by the merits of Christ : except, indeed, the proneness to transgression itself, which remains, as we are told in the 9th Article, even in those who are regenerated. From its first consequence, death, our Saviour hath delivered us, not indeed by abolishing that event, but by re-opening the path of immortality : from its other consequence, liability to wrath, we are, in like manner, redeemed by the merits of

his passion ; which is termed, in the 31st Article of our religion, a perfect propitiation for the sins of the whole world, both ORIGINAL and actual. The rite, by which this deliverance from the condemnation due to original sin, is visibly communicated to us, is that of baptism. We are “ baptized for the remission of sins.” Acts, ii. 38.

4thly. The proneness to transgression, the taint of evil, although remaining, subsequently to baptism, is, thus, not, in itself, an object of condemnation in the regenerated. It becomes, it is true, an object of condemnation, whenever it evolves itself in actual sin, or in the indulgence of criminal desires : but as an hereditary bodily disorder may be hindered from committing ravages on the constitution by temperance and medicine, an heavenly assistance is vouchsafed by baptism, which if rightly improved by reason and increased by prayer, may greatly prevent our native taint of evil from rising into presumptuous or habitual guilt ; while for the many actual errors and trespasses into which the best are frequently betrayed, a remedy is provided, on their sincere repentance and resolutions of amendment, in the great atonement offered on the cross. If, in one word, a reason be demanded, why the proneness to transgression should continue in the breasts of the regenerated, we answer, that when it is thus opposed by divine grace, a probationary exercise is presented to probationary creatures, in their power

of ruining themselves by abandoning their souls to the former, or of accepting salvation, by submitting to the happy influences of the latter.

There is, therefore, nothing in the doctrine of original sin, opposite to the justice, or the goodness of God.

4thly. The fourth of the Pelagian tenets relates to the efficacy of baptism. It has been already shown that we are born in sin, and the children of wrath: and since the Scripture adds, “He saved us by the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost” (Tit. iii. 5); and also, “Arise and be baptized, and wash away thy sins, &c.” (Acts, xxii. 16. 1 Pet. iii. 21); and once more, “Ye are all the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus; for as many as were baptized into Christ, have put on Christ” (Gal. iii. 27); a text to be compared with the following: “There is therefore NO CONDEMNATION to them which are in Christ Jesus” (Rom. viii. 1): since baptism is thus explicitly stated to be a sign of deliverance from sin and condemnation, it is evident that they who hold it to be no more than a mark of adoption into the kingdom of God, entertain imperfect and unworthy notions of its efficacy. Baptism takes us out of a state of danger, and places us in a state of safety: it puts us on a way of conquering, through grace (of which it is a means and pledge), the evil propensities of our nature; and of finding acceptance in Christ Jesus, through “faith which worketh by love.”

5thly. If the resurrection of men does not follow from that of Christ, to what is it owing? Were they naturally ETERNAL, as well as naturally mortal? Where does the Pelagian find that they were either the one or the other? If no where, it follows, that as they were made mortal by sin, the Almighty must have reversed, on some occasion, the decree of general mortality. But when, and where, and owing to what consideration? Let the Pelagian acquaint us, and let him bring his information from Scripture.

This, however, explicitly declares to him, that "Christ is the first fruits of them that slept" (1 Cor. xv. 20); a phrase, of which, by reading a few verses forward, he will find an easy explanation: "for as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive." 1 Cor. xv. 22.

6thly. They who recollect, that if God should mark iniquities, none should be able to stand before him (Psa. cxxx. 3); and that if he were strictly to enter into judgment with his servants, "no man living could be justified" on his own account (Psa. cxliii. 2), will not think, with the followers of Pelagius, that the law qualified men for the kingdom of God. And any who consider that life and immortality were BROUGHT TO LIGHT by the Gospel, will, without any hesitation, refuse to believe that the law was founded in equal promises with it. "The law made nothing perfect; but the bringing in of a better hope did." Heb. vii. 19.

The holy men who under the first covenant are

said to have pleased God, were saved, but not by their works. They were accepted through Christ, the merits of whose sacrifice are to be considered as retrospective in their efficacy, since he is called "the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world." Rev. xiii. 8. Augustine, in his first Catechism, chap. xix. v. 53, very happily compares them to a right hand of the body of Christ, appearing before the head issues from the womb. We may apply this observation to virtuous heathens, who having no law, were, to a certain extent, "a law unto themselves" (Rom. ii. 14): for as it is in truth consistent with the attributes of God, that a man should be accepted according to that he hath, and not according to that he hath not (2 Cor. viii. 12); we are authorized to believe that the salvation purchased by Christ was extended to them, as an atonement for their imperfections, although no intelligence of it had reached their ears. With respect to many amongst the chosen people, St. Paul states, that they died in a prospective faith, the object of which was specially revealed to them. (Heb. xi.) They saw the star out of Jacob: they beheld the root of Jesse. They hailed the Redeemer's day afar off, and were glad. Numb. xxiv. 17. Isa. xi. 10. John, viii. 56.

We sum up this head with the following quotations:

"Therefore by the deeds of the law shall no flesh be justified in his sight." Rom. viii. 8.

"I am the way, and the truth, and the life;

no man cometh to the Father but by me." John, xiv. 6.

"Neither is there salvation in any other; for there is none other name given among men, whereby we must be saved." Acts, iv. 12.

7thly. The practicability of being virtuous by the freedom of the will, independently of divine grace, is denied so strongly and so frequently in the New Testament, that we might almost undertake to prove the reverse, by opening the volume carelessly at any part. "I know that in me, that is, in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing." Rom. vii. 18. "No man can come unto me except the Father which hath sent me, draw him." John, vi. 44. "Without me ye can do nothing." John, xv. 5. "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned." 1 Cor. ii. 14. "Not that we are sufficient of OURSELVES, to think any thing, as of ourselves; but our sufficiency is of God." 2 Cor. iii. 5. "For it is God, which worketh in you, both to will and to do, (of his good pleasure." Phil. ii. 13.

If it were necessary, similar quotations might be multiplied to an unlimited extent.

8thly. The grace of God, it is affirmed by the Pelagians, is given according to merit. "If all the world are guilty before God (Rom. iii. 19), if all have sinned, and come short of the divine glory (Rom. iii. 23), if there be none righteous, no, not one (Rom. iii. 10), there can be no such

thing as DESERVING the grace of God. Grace is a free gift (Rom. v. 15) : " The love of God our Saviour towards men, appeared not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost." Tit. iii. 4, 5.

That to him who hath, will be given; that God will bestow an increase of spiritual assistance, to carry forward to higher degrees of holiness, individuals who he sees have profited by the grace at first vouchsafed to them ; that as reinforcements of grace are promised to prayer, they are tendered to those services, which are a test of the sincerity of prayer (Mat. xxi. 22 ; xiii. 12), the sacred writings authorize us to believe. This, however, is not the meaning which the Pelagians annexed to the term merit. Their error consisted in ascribing the first movements of good in the soul, to human volition, exclusively, when they were in fact divine inspirations, not resisted, but complied and co-operated with ; and further, not DESERVING an increase of grace, but receiving it from the goodness of the Deity, well pleased to find that the first stirrings of his Spirit were not quenched and rejected. To think and speak thus of divine grace, at once leaves to man his moral agency, and his humility, as a being dependent, in every stage of his conduct, on the aid of a superior, sanctifying power ; a being, too, who if he were treated according to his DESERT, would receive neither grace nor any good thing.

With respect to the men, who, from such motives as were placed before them, prior to the appearance of Christianity, in some measure overcame the evil of their nature, not only, as we have shown above, may we believe that the retrospective sacrifice of Christ will sanctify their imperfect services; but some divines have even thought, that they were unconsciously moved to these very services by a portion of divine influence.

9thly. The distinctions of rich and poor would cease, and no alms could be given, if the opulent were under a positive obligation to part with ALL their possessions. The admonition is not, "Give ALL thou hast;" but, "Give alms of thy possessions." Luke, xi. 41. "Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness." Luke, xvi. 9. "Charge them that are rich in the world, that they do good, that they be rich in good works, ready to distribute; willing to communicate." 1 Tim. vi. 17, 18. Peter, in a word, tells Ananias, that it was not positively necessary for him to have parted with his possession. "While it remained, was it not thine own? and after it was sold, was it not in thy power?" Acts, v. 4. Not then the withholding of part of this property, but the lie, was the occasion of that disciple's awful fate.

It seemed necessary to extend, to a considerable length, our examination of the Pelagian doctrines: since, as many of them are entertained by the modern Socinians, we shall find it convenient, when

the order of time shall bring us down to that sect, to refer to the foregoing observations.

Besides, some heresies are perpetuated amongst mankind, without appearing in the prominent and tangible form of opinions, held by a collective body of worshippers: and this seems to be the case with the Pelagian sentiments relative to original sin, if we make the single exception of their incorporation with the principles held by Socinian dissenters. Men of the world, who have little piety at heart, and who regard religion as a matter of ordinary speculation, at once condemn this doctrine on the ground of its supposed injustice, which they deem a refutation of it, sufficient, of itself, to preclude the necessity of investigating the sanction conferred by Scripture, on an article of belief thus hastily denounced. To any, then, who hitherto may have satisfied their minds, with respect to this important subject, by urging, "To what purpose should we search the Scriptures? our own moral sense condemns and refutes a proposition, affirming, that the sin of the first man renders culpable individuals, living six thousand years after its commission, and thus incapable of participating it:" to such, and their number is not small, the foregoing exposition may not prove disserviceable.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE ARRIVAL OF THE SAXONS, 451, TO
THE NORMAN CONQUEST, 1066.

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I. THE followers of Hengist and Horsa, on their arrival in this country, endeavoured to substitute their own idolatry for the Gospel, wherever they carried their victorious arms: and as the sword, though never competent to convince, can at least enforce an external obedience, the worship of Odin, and Frea, and Thor, which they introduced, for a season spread darkness over the land. It was not long, however, before the glorious truth, against which the gates of hell cannot prevail,

emerged from its partial eclipse; and the Saxons, incorporating with the ancient inhabitants, gradually conformed themselves to their faith. In the interval betwixt the arrival and conversion of these invaders, the church history of Britain is exceedingly imperfect. We learn, however, that under the ministry of Dubritius and Iltutus, the former Archbishop of Caerleon, the latter president of a celebrated seminary for ecclesiastics in Glamorganshire, called from him "Lantuet," the British churches, amidst the tumults of this period, afforded examples both of piety and learning.

II. *Sixth Century*.—Several councils are likewise mentioned to have been held, chiefly relating to the Pelagian heresy: in one of which, assembled A. D. 516, king Arthur was crowned, and St. David, his uncle, appointed Archbishop of Caerleon.

III. From this too populous and bustling residence, the prelate soon removed the seat of his authority to Manevia, afterwards styled St. David's, which, although situated in a more barren and uninviting soil, he preferred, on account of the favourableness of its solitude to contemplation. Here this learned and active ecclesiastic is said to have lived not less than sixty-five years; till after having founded twelve monasteries, and exerted his efforts to interest the British clergy in extirpating the remains, and in preventing the revival of Pelagianism, he died in the year 642, being the 146th year of his age. We here forbear to repeat the

legendary memoirs of a variety of pastors who lived at this period; and whose existence, the only authentic part of their history, is ascertained, in some instances, by places still recording their names: such as Llan Patern in Cardiganshire, and Padstow in Cornwall, which commemorate the two itinerant ecclesiastics, Patern and Petrock. Such divines, before settling in our island, usually led a rambling life, "being composed," as a quaint historian observes, "of Irish infancy, British breeding, and French preferment:" and thus shifting their habitation to avoid persecution, to acquire experience, or to disseminate Christian knowledge. Among these worthies of the sixth century is to be reckoned St. Columba, the celebrated founder of the monastery of I-Colm-Kill, or Iona, in the Hebrides. St. Patrick, the apostle of Ireland, is said to have died in the middle of the former century (the 5th) at Glastonbury.

IV. Though a few straggling congregations and obscure individuals secretly worshipped the true God, in the kingdoms of the infant heptarchy, we are at this time to look for the entire body of the British church, in the remoter districts of Wales and Cornwall. In all other places, the Saxons on their first arrival, actuated by a strong animosity against a religion which they did not understand, massacred its clergy, and demolished its temples. It was not long, however, before

their alliances formed with the natives enabled them to take closer and soberer views of the system which they had thus rashly persecuted, and consequently led them to regard it more favourably.

This prepossession was much improved by a marriage which took place in the year 579, betwixt Ethelbert, king of Kent, and Bertha, daughter of Clotaire, the Christian sovereign of France. The chaplain of this princess, agreeably to the marriage-treaty, being allowed to perform the Christian service in a small church adjacent to Canterbury, inclined the minds of many of the neighbouring people to be better instructed in the faith.

V. Important events have been frequently observed to be brought about by trivial incidents: and Providence makes some of its grandest movements in the moral world, by employing means of no consideration. The appointment is wise and salutary. For if the means should appear at all times adequate, in the judgment of human reason, to the ends, the pride of man might rest on them as ultimate causes: but when they are inconsiderable and weak, he is compelled to look up with reverence to the higher Hand which guides their operation. About this juncture it happened, that the compassion of St. Gregory being excited by seeing some beautiful English youths, exposed to public sale in the streets of Rome, he resolved on effecting the conversion of their nation. The conversation which passed betwixt the saint and

the strangers, illustrative of the barbarous wit of an age, in which eloquence consisted in quibbling allusions, is related by most of our civil historians.

On being told (says Mr. Hume) that the young men were Angles, he replied, that they ought rather to be denominated angels: while he lamented that the prince of darkness should be master of so much beauty, and that so fair and elegant an outside should be destitute of internal grace. On inquiring what was the name of their province, he was informed it was Deira, a district of Northumberland: "That," said he, "would seem to intimate that you are called to the mercy of God, from his anger, *de ira*: and who, I pray, is the king of Deira?" The youths replied, that his name was Ælla, or Alla: "Alleluiah!" resumed the punning priest; "we must see that the praises of God be sung in that country." Incited by these fanciful and childish conceits, he began to make preparations for the perilous undertaking; when the esteem of his countrymen raising him to the pontificate, compelled him to commit the pious task to Augustine, a Roman monk, and to forty other missionaries.—Bede, Hist. Eccles. l. ii. ch. 23.

After much hesitation, occasioned by the apprehension of dangers, in prosecuting the new attempt, to perseverance in which they were encouraged by the Pontiff, the companions, provided with interpreters from France, at length arrived in

Kent, where they were agreeably surprised in finding Ethelbert, the reigning sovereign, favourably disposed towards the object of their mission. Their arrival, indeed, happening twenty-six years after that monarch had been united to the pious and amiable Bertha, he and his people, we can readily believe, were well prepared for the proffered instruction. “Your words and promises are plausible,” said this liberal prince, who from some apprehension of magic had given audience to the itinerants in the open air; “but since they are new and uncertain, I cannot at once yield to them, and relinquish the principles which I and my ancestors have so long maintained: you are welcome, nevertheless, to remain here in peace; and as you have undertaken so long a journey, solely, as appears, from what you believe to be our advantage, I will readily supply you with every accommodation, and permit you to deliver your doctrine to my subjects*.” The brethren having thus obtained the royal sanction, made a solemn entry into the city of Canterbury, with a pomp which might at once do honour to their religion, and impress the people with admiration and awe. Carrying before them a banner, adorned with the picture of Christ, together with a silver crucifix, they proceeded, chaunting the following hymn: “We beseech thee, O Lord, of thy great mercy, let thy wrath and anger be turned away

* Hume.

from this city, and from thy holy place, for we have sinned. Hallelujah."

VI. The labours of their ministry, which immediately commenced, accompanied by devout and exemplary fasting and prayer, were so happily seconded by the smile of Providence, that it was not long before the king and great numbers of his subjects were converted, A. D. 597: but the account, we must observe, of Augustine's baptizing ten thousand of the latter on the Christmas-day of that year, is incorrect, being confounded with a general baptism, held some years afterwards, by Paulinus, in the river Swale, near Richmond, in Yorkshire. In these conversions no force was employed, the monarch having declared, by the advice of Augustine, that the work of proselytizing should be carried forward, only by the fair means of argument and example. Happy if other potentates, in more enlightened ages, had adhered as faithfully to the Christian spirit.

VII. Encouraged by his rapid success, Augustine passed over into France, where the Archbishop of Arles consecrated him Archbishop of England, a dignity from which he trusted that his future persuasions would derive a greater weight, and his labours a more extensive efficacy.

VIII. When an account of these events was brought to Rome, the Pope lost no time in sending a reinforcement of preachers, together with an ample store of books, vestments, and sacred utensils,

into England. These were accompanied with a letter addressed to Augustine, enjoining the manner in which the work of conversion ought to be carried on. The leading principle on which the Archbishop was directed to proceed, was that of violating the prejudices of the English, as little as was consistent with their change of faith. With this view the heathen temples, instead of being demolished, were appointed to be used for Christian worship, their images only being carefully removed, and their walls washed with holy water. While the expense of erecting churches was in this manner saved, it was thought that the late idolaters would listen with less reluctance to the new doctrines, if delivered in their usual houses of devotion. With the same design of facilitating conversion, the Pontiff advises, that as the people had been accustomed to slay oxen to their heathen deities on particular days, they should be permitted on these days to erect booths, within the precincts of the several churches, where they might keep a Christian holiday; not sacrificing their cattle to the devil, but killing them for their own refreshment. The custom thus permitted is manifestly the origin of those wakes and feasts, which are still held throughout the country, on the days appropriated in the old calendar, to those saints to whom the churches are respectively dedicated. Such compromises as this latter betwixt the heathen ceremonies, and the pure and spiritual religion of

Christ, appear not to have been numbered amongst the means of conversion employed by the holy Apostles. It is no wonder then, that the ancient British bishops were greatly scandalized at this half-idolatrous Christianity ; which though advisable with respect to the then present exigency, introduced in time into the English church, a long train of superstitions and corruptions. Prudent zeal will, at all times, be careful to compare immediate and remote good : satisfied with a smaller share of the former, if effectually securing the latter, than might be obtained in blind neglect of such an estimate, or in rash opposition to its forecast.

IX. *Seventh Century.*—Augustine's consecration was, in the beginning of the seventh century, confirmed by the pall, sent to him from Rome. This was an ornament peculiar to metropolitans, being at first only a small piece of woollen cloth, thrown over the shoulders of the archbishop, while he officiated, and neither dressed nor dyed, in order to remind him of the simplicity of the pastoral office : although, in the progress of corruption, when the chief care of ecclesiastics was to swell rather than to humble their pride, it became a magnificent decoration (*ωμοφοριαν*), fastened on the breast with three pins of gold *.

* Agnes, a young lady of noble family in Rome, suffered martyrdom, A. D. 306, with wonderful fortitude, being then only fourteen years of age. It is recorded, that some time

X. In a letter written A. D. 601, Gregory instructed his favourite to appoint twelve suffragans; to send moreover a bishop to York, and, as soon as the faith should have spread over the north of England, to establish twelve other bishops in that district, who, as he intended, should be subject to the latter see. To Canterbury was assigned the primacy over both the provinces, until the termination of Augustine's life, when it was the scheme of Gregory, that the metropolitan see should be transferred from that city to London, and that York should be erected into a separate archbishopric. The reason given for this design was, that York and London had been the two chief English archbishoprics, as Caerleon was that of Wales, in the ancient British church. The intentions and orders of the Pontiff, however, met, as we shall find, with strenuous opposition, and in the sequel were never punctually complied with. To a string of questions, which had been formally proposed by the new metropo-

after her execution, a vision of angels appeared to her parents, when watching by night at her tomb, and in the midst of them their beloved daughter, accompanied by a lamb, white as snow. From that time the Roman ladies yearly offered two white lambs on the altar of St. Agnes. These the Pope kept in the richest pastures, until the time of shearing, when a fine cloth was spun and woven of the hallowed wool; and being consecrated by the Pontiff, was sold to metropolitans, at an exorbitant price, under the name of palls.—WHEATLY on the *Liturgy*.

litan to St. Gregory, it was replied, 1st, That the offerings of the laity, at that time the principal church revenues, should be divided into four equal parts ; one to be set apart for the bishop, another for the inferior clergy, a third for the poor, and the fourth for the repairing of churches. 2dly, That the church service should be modelled according to circumstances, without respect to either the Gallican or the Roman form. 3dly, That a difference should be observed in the new church, in punishing the crime of sacrilege, according as it should be proved to have proceeded from avarice or necessity. 4thly, That all are at liberty to marry, who are more distant than cousin-germans, &c. These answers may serve to point out the nature of queries, which Mr. Hume, with his wonted malevolence against the clerical order, has ridiculed as trivial and contemptible ; and among which, the only one or two that are exceptionable, he has carefully singled out as specimens of the whole. All the instructions of Gregory to Augustine evince, in the character of that pontiff, liberal views, a sound understanding, and an amiable heart ; and with respect to the points on which Mr. Hume has animadverted, it would have been candid in that historian to have represented the holy father as pitying the weakness of his disciple, and cautioning him to beware, lest a mind naturally infirm should be lifted up with vain glory and self-esteem.

XI. For this admonition there appears to have been some occasion; as the prelate, much inflated with the favour of his patron, soon began to carry himself with an air of arrogance. Having met the heads of the British clergy by appointment, at a place called Augustine's Oak, in Worcestershire; he proposed a compromise, in which he promised to bear with them in most of their peculiar tenets, only demanding that they should own him for their metropolitan; coalesce with the English church; and conform to the Roman time of celebrating Easter, and to the rites in the baptismal service. The British ecclesiastics were, however, inflexible. At the opening of the interview they had been highly affronted, by his presuming to keep his seat while he received them, which, by the advice of a hermit, they had preconcerted to consider as a warning against coming to an accommodation: a circumstance, indeed, which may afford no useless lesson to those who have any object to attain, reminding them that their failure in a slight civility may defeat their best-grounded hopes, and obliterate the strongest prepossession in their favour. The bishops of Britain pronounced a dignified refusal to relinquish their customs, to conform to the Roman discipline, or to acknowledge the supremacy of the Roman pontiff, affirming that they recognised no superior except the Archbishop of Caerleon. Exasperated

at this reply, the metropolitan left the assembly, threatening them with the vengeance of Heaven, and the invasion of an English army. These menaces, uttered in the heat of passion, appear to have been speedily forgotten; for although Augustine has been accused by several historians of having instigated the subsequent slaughter of twelve hundred and fifty monks of Banchor, it is certain that this act of savage ferocity was perpetrated by Edilfride, a prince who lived beyond the Humber, and over whom the prelate of Canterbury could possess no influence.

In the differences betwixt the churches of Asia and Rome, which began in the end of the second century, the latter had been followed in matters of doctrine by all the western churches, excepting those of Gaul and Milan *. Britain, separated from the continent, and removed from the sphere of dispute, was still less likely to yield a tame subservience to the Roman pontiffs; whom she in fact regarded in no other light than as bishops of their own diocese. We look, at this distance of time, with wonder, at the heat to which disputes about a topic so frivolous as the time of observing Easter arose; not considering that some of our own contentions are in themselves hardly less un-

* When the Pope attempted to impose the Roman office on the different western churches, Milan sheltered itself beneath the authority of St. Ambrose, and the Ambrosian office still prevailed in that district, in contradistinction to the Roman ritual.

important, and will in a few years appear in that light to our posterity. Surely it is respecting these minor differences that mutual forbearance and harmony ought to prevail; there is a point in holding the greater truths, beyond which forbearance is lukewarmness, and concord with opponents a tame submission to falsehood, as well as a traitorous invitation to encroachment. Yet it is too true that these latter are the doctrines, in regard to which men are perpetually demanding charity with an affected and canting liberality, while they embroil themselves in contending for petty peculiarities, in which charity is safe, practicable, and obligatory.

XII. Disappointed in his hopes of amalgamating the two churches, Augustine now contracted his views, and devoted the remainder of his life to the regulation of that establishment which his own hand had formed. After having appointed, in the year 604, Justus, bishop of Rochester, Mellitus, bishop of the East Saxons, and Laurentius as his own successor in the metropolitan see; he died in the year following, the eighth of his residence in England, where he had extended the Christian faith among the Anglo-Saxons, little further than over the district of Kent, and part of the present counties of Essex and Middlesex.

XIII. In the character of this prelate, learning, piety, and zeal, were unhappily alloyed by vanity and imperiousness. Some have deemed him fur-

ther worthy of censure, as an enthusiast ; but if we are to understand by enthusiasm only a warmer degree of zeal, we must surely withdraw it from the number of his faults ; for it is not to the ordinary zeal of persons calling themselves, and, perhaps, deserving to be called, reasonable and moderate ministers, that heathen and savage countries have been indebted for the blessings of the Gospel. If Christianity be allowed to be better than Heathenism, it is expedient in common benevolence (to say nothing of the positive injunction), that it should be imparted to heathen nations ; and if moderate men are not in general disposed to relinquish their comforts at home, and to make the first advances in what they term a romantic undertaking, these advances must either not be made at all, or be made by men, the ardour of whose zeal might, perhaps, under other circumstances, be justly condemned, as bordering on enthusiastic fervour. In the case which we suppose, it is pardonable and even praiseworthy, because it seems necessary to the production of the desired effect : not but that it would be better if that effect could be produced by the least exceptionable agents ; and not but that, when the first difficulties have been surmounted, it may be reasonably presumed that such agents will have no longer any objection to the mission.

XIV. The newly appointed bishop of the East Saxons had converted that people, who occupied

Essex and Middlesex. His see was fixed in London, the capital of this little state, which was then tributary to Kent. Here Sebert, the king, with the ardour of a convert, substituted the abbey church of Westminster for a temple sacred to Apollo; and dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul another church, in the site of an ancient temple of Diana, and of the modern St. Paul's cathedral. Gregory's intention, of removing the see of the primacy on the death of Augustine, to London, was nevertheless found incapable of being fulfilled, London being then not thoroughly converted, and Ethelbert being unwilling that the archiepiscopal authority should dignify the capital of another and an inferior prince.

Born under such highly favourable auspices, the infant church was in a short time unhappily involved in difficulties, and menaced with destruction. On the death of Ethelbert, A. D. 616, Eadbald, his son and successor, marrying his own mother-in-law, of course renounced a religion which condemned the incestuous alliance, as it is natural for those whose deeds are evil to love darkness rather than light. Since in all countries it is incidental to a national church to contain a certain body of lukewarm worshippers, who regard religion only in its connexion with government, or are ready to shift their faith at the call of interest or fashion, the example of this monarch's apostacy was followed by a considerable number of

his subjects. To add to these calamities of the newly planted church, three pagan sons soon after succeeding to Eadbald's cousin, Sebert the king of the East Saxons, expelled the new religion from their dominions, and forced Mellitus to take refuge in Kent. The immediate occasion of this bishop's expulsion, is said by Bede to have been his refusal to distribute to these barbarous princes a portion of the white bread, which he used in celebrating the eucharist.

The three English prelates now despairing of their establishment, two of them passed over in fear or dejection to the continent. Laurentius, however, lingered behind, in hopes of experiencing some favourable change of fortune, to which he resolved to contribute by one of those pious frauds, common in a superstitious age, and hardly palliated, but, certainly, never excused, by the good which they tend to accomplish. Having mangled his body with many stripes, he rushed into the presence of the incestuous prince, alleging that he had been thus severely treated by St. Peter, in punishment for his neglecting to plead before royalty the cause of the injured church. The credulity of Eadbald awakened in his bosom the latent spark of remorse. He repudiated his queen, recalled the bishops, and re-established the Christian faith throughout his kingdom; but the East Saxons being less disposed to a recanta-

tion of their error, the see of London was not recovered by Mellitus. After the lapse of a few years, however, the loss sustained by that ex-bishop was supplied by his advancement to the vacant archiepiscopal dignity, in which, on his death, A. D. 624, he was succeeded by Justus, translated from Rochester.

The next archbishop to Justus was Honorius, who first, as it is said, divided his diocese into parishes; the clerical functions having been hitherto imperfectly performed by itinerant priests, whose only residence was the house of the bishop. As the Pope had conferred on the two English archbishops the privilege of consecrating each other, for the sake of avoiding the expense and trouble of a journey to Rome, this service was performed to Honorius by the prelate who then held the see of York.

XV. To the sacred and endearing tie of marriage, which occasions a conformity of minds, bestows on the weaker party the soft empire of persuasion over the stronger, and inclines the soul of the stern or the worldly husband to humane or religious sentiments, the Christian religion was, under Providence, indebted for its introduction into many states.

Loveliness is indeed at all times rendered more interesting by its union with piety and her attendant virtues; and that an amiable Christian princess should bend to her faith the heathen monarch to whom she was united, can afford but

little matter of surprise. Of such conversions, instances are to be found in the histories of France, and, as we have already seen, of Kent; and to these it is now our lot to add another, in accompanying the extension of the Gospel among the Northumbrians.

Edwin, the sovereign of that people, having married, A. D. 625, the sister of King Eadbald, and daughter of Bertha, this princess carried along with her from Kent, a chaplain, named Paulinus, who had previously been made a bishop by Archbishop Justus. In a council held by Edwin and his ministers, to determine whether the new religion should be promulgated amongst his subjects, the simple and pathetic address of one of the courtiers is worthy of a place in history. "Man's life, O King! resembles yonder sparrow, which, while we are now feasting, flies in at one window, and, after picking a few crumbs, escapes at the other. We see it during the short time it remaineth in the house, and mark how it is sheltered from the wind and weather; but it soon passes from cold to cold; and whence it cometh, and whither it goeth, O King, we are altogether ignorant. If, therefore, the preaching of Paulinus will give us any certain information herein, he deserveth, in my opinion, to be entertained." This suggestion being approved of, Paulinus was permitted to declare, and inculcate his opinions publicly; and it was not long before they were

assented to by the king, and by many of the nobility and people. It would appear from the speech which led to these conversions, that the early English missionaries, in imitation of their father and pattern, St. Paul, wisely began the work of enlightening the ignorant, by preaching the simpler and more elementary truths of Christianity—resurrection and judgment to come; instead of overwhelming their understandings at once, in the manner practised by many less judicious itinerants, with those sublime mysteries, which, although indispensable, may be taught with more effect, when the disciples have undergone some previous training in the school of evangelical illumination. They administered milk, before they fed with strong meat.

The wisdom of this plan was illustrated a few years afterwards, when Corman, a monk of Iona, having returned to his monastery disappointed in an attempt to restore the Northumbrians to the faith, was succeeded in his office by a man of greater moderation and discretion, who easily accomplished the desired object, attributing Corman's failure to his having confounded the understandings of the people, by precipitating them at once into the abstruse mysteries of Christianity, before he had paved the way by imparting to them a knowledge of plainer and more intelligible truths.

In the van of Northumbrian proselytes ap-

peared Coify, the high priest, having renounced his Pagan creed, in consequence of thinking, that the gods whom he had hitherto served had not sufficiently increased his temporal blessings; and, as an ardent spirit passes from one extreme to another, partly in abhorrence of its past errors, and partly through anxiety to display to the world its recantation, the holy convert armed himself cap-à-pée, and tilted with a lance against the idols, who had, till then, been the objects of his profound adoration. At his instigation, the temple, a chief seat of Paganism, which stood at Godmundsham on the river Derwent, was burnt to the ground, along with every thing it contained.

XVI. Twelve thousand Northumbrians were baptized in one day, in the river Swale, near Richmond; and Paulinus having extended his labours with success, to the kingdom of the East Angles, where Earpwald the king, and many of his subjects, particularly those residing in Lincolnshire, were converted, a new see was established at York, the cathedral of which was at this time founded, and an archbishop's pall obtained, for the zealous itinerant, from the Roman pontiff.

Conversions, thus numerous and hasty, accomplished by the influence of fashion and enthusiasm, anterior to regular instruction, and on no solid grounds of conviction, were little honourable

to the Christian cause, and were not likely to be stable. Thus in the year 633, were all the flattering prospects which had been opened, by the successful preaching of Paulinus, overcast; the defeat and death of King Edwin, in battle, having been followed by so general an apostacy of his subjects, that the prelate, in despondency, abandoned the small remains of his flock, and retired into Kent, where he was induced to lay aside all thoughts of returning to his northern converts, by being called to the vacant see of Rochester. The Northumbrians returned to the profession of the Gospel, on the restoration of their Christian sovereign Oswald, who recovered his throne after an exile of considerable duration, which he had passed among the Scottish clergy. These, in addition to their former hospitality and instruction, sent him, first Corman, as has been just related, and, after his failure, his fellow-countryman Aidan, a pious and learned missionary, who was appointed the first bishop of Lindisfarne, or Holy Island, to which place the see of York was now removed. In the character given by the old writers of Aidan, he is represented as meek, self-denied, and charitable; sparing no man in rebuke on account of his wealth or rank; and recommending to the people the reading of the Scriptures, as tending to refine the mind, and to give to heaven and hell their due impression. "But notwithstanding his probity, humility, and zeal,

he was, after all," says Bede, "a man of zeal without knowledge; not keeping Easter as the church of Rome did, or observing the ecclesiastical tonsure." Aidan was followed, though not immediately succeeded, in his office, and activity, about the end of the same century, by St. Cuthbert, likewise a native of Scotland, and drawn from the abbey of Melross. From this time down to the end of the Heptarchy, the see of York was only a bishopric.

The East Angles were recovered from their defection in a similar manner, and nearly at the same time, with their Northumbrian neighbours: their king Sigibert on his return from exile in France, being accompanied by Felix, a Burgundian priest, who was appointed their first bishop, and fixed his episcopal residence at Dumnoc, now Dunwich.

Travel appears to have liberalized the minds of these two princes, Oswald and Sigibert. In their respective dominions, they built many schools; judging wisely, that the mysteries of faith would be best engrafted on education, and that as Christianity was established on reasonable doctrines, and authentic facts, the more closely it was examined, the more ardently would it be admired, and the firmer would be the general conviction of its truth.

XVII. Let us now turn our eyes to the kingdom of Wessex, which, in the year 635, was

converted to the faith by Berinus, a Roman missionary. As usual, the apostle became the first prelate, and Berinus fixed his see at Dorchester, an ancient city in the county of Oxford.

It was some time after, about the year 660, that the East Saxons re-entered the pale of the church, at the persuasion of Chad, or Cedda, a Northumbrian prelate, who, on his translation, became the second bishop of London.

XVIII. Wedlock became once more the parent of Christianity, in the conversion of the people of Mercia. They embraced the faith towards the end of the seventh century, in imitation of Peada, the son of their sovereign, who had abandoned idolatry at the instigation of his princess, Queen Alchflida, a daughter of Oswi, the king of Northumberland.

XIX. The keen disputes which soon after took place between the northern and southern ecclesiastics relative to the tonsure and the time of celebrating Easter, would be too frivolous to deserve mention, if they had not paved the way for the consolidation of all the English churches, under the imperious and oppressive power of Rome. In all the converted countries from the Forth to the Thames, the Gallican, or Irish ritual, was strictly observed as a model of service, in conformity with the practice of those British churches, by which their bishops had been supplied. Kent and Wessex, for a similar reason, adopted the

Romish ceremonies. Of the momentous argument respecting the ecclesiastical tonsure, a passage in St. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians, "If a man wear long hair, it is a shame unto him," constituted the sole groundwork. The words had not much connexion, it must be owned, with the grand point in dispute, which was, whether the whole head should be shaved, excepting a narrow circular fringe representing a wreath of thorns; or whether the razor should only be applied to a large spot on the crown. Nearly of equal importance in itself, was the other matter in agitation, just mentioned: the northern churches warmly maintaining that Easter should be kept on the first Sunday after the thirteenth, and before the twenty-first day, of the new moon which followed the vernal equinox; while the southern divines contended for its celebration on the first Sunday after the fourteenth, and before the twenty-second day. But frivolous points are swelled into serious magnitude by involving important consequences--and these questions appeared momentous, since the pertinacity of the northern churches in their opinions would imply independence on any external power, as their conformity would amount to an acknowledgment of the Roman authority. The island being thus divided into two parties, a conference was held at Whitby, in the year 664, with a view to reconcile their differences. Here, Oswy, the Northumbrian so-

vereign, learning from the Romish missionaries, that Peter, the rock on which the church was built, was likewise keeper of the gate of heaven, declared that he would not offend that great Apostle, lest when he died he should be refused admittance. This wise resolution determined the question, and the Catholic Easter was preferred.

In disgust occasioned by this decision, Colman, the bishop of Northumberland, resigned his see, in which he was succeeded by the celebrated Wilfred, at that time tutor to the Northumbrian prince. But this priest prolonging his stay in France, whither he had repaired in order to receive consecration from his friend the Archbishop of Paris, his seat was occupied during his absence by Cedda, a native of Scotland.

XX. An archbishop elect of Canterbury, who had been sent to Rome for consecration, by the kings of Kent and Northumberland, having died of the plague in that city, the Pontiff presumed, without consulting these princes, to appoint to the vacant metropolitan chair, Theodore, a learned native of Tarsus, as an agent on whose fidelity he could implicitly rely, for the accomplishment of the great object he had in view, an union of all the English churches, in subjection to the power, and in compliance with the ceremonies, of Rome. This prelate no sooner arrived in the island, A. D. 669, than he introduced auricular confession, in opposition to the doctrine at that time taught by

the Scottish divines of Mercia and Northumberland. By his exertions, the Roman doctrines soon became universal, and all the English churches were united under Canterbury. With a view to facilitate these measures, he had ingratiated himself among the people by the foundation of schools, the chief of which was that of Cricklade, or Greeklade, in Wiltshire, whose scholars going to Oxford, are thought by some to have laid the foundation of that university. Theodore, like his fellow-citizen St. Paul, making a circuit of the country, regulated all the churches; and at this time removed Cedda to London, or, probably as an intermediate step, to Lichfield, installing Wilfred at York, which, in this manner, now once more became the see of the Northumbrian diocese.

XXI. With a view to secure the Roman encroachment, the primate convoked a synod of the English clergy, at Hertford, A. D. 673. In this assembly, besides a confirmation of the late decision respecting Easter, a few general regulations for the good of the church were decreed, in compliance with the canons of the ancient councils. Each bishop was ordered to confine his exertions within his own diocese: the clergy, in removing from one diocese to another, were to be furnished with letters recommendatory: synods were to be held once a year; and in these, the bishops were to take precedence according to their priority in consecration.

A subsequent council held at Hatfield, Sept. 15th, A. D. 680, established the doctrine of the English churches on the foundation of the primitive church, admitting as orthodox the opinions and discipline of the five first general councils. They condemned, as heterodox, the opinions of the Monothelites, who, deriving their name from *μονος*, and *θελημα*, believed that the divine and human natures had but one will in Christ.

XXII. Hitherto there had been only one bishop in each of the six Christian kingdoms of the Heptarchy, except in Kent, which contained Rochester and Canterbury. But the King of Northumberland, desirous of humbling the rising and intolerable arrogance of Wilfred, divided the enormous see of that prelate, which, till then, had extended from the Humber to the Forth, into the four bishoprics of York, Lindisfarne, Hexham, and Abercorn. Against this dismemberment the haughty Wilfred appealed in person to the Pope, who decreed that he should recover the full extent of his see: but so regardless was the Northumbrian sovereign of the papal mandate, as to imprison the prelate on his return from Rome. About the same time was subdivided the bishopric of Mercia, into the five sees of Litchfield, Leicester, Hereford, Worcester, and Sydnacester, which last place is now Gainsborough, in Lincolnshire.—HIGDEN, *Polychron.* c. v. p. 241.

Theodore also split the kingdom of the East Angles into the two dioceses of Dunwich and Northelmham. "Divide et impera," appears to have been a principle well known to this sagacious archbishop. His object in these measures was an acknowledgment of his authority throughout the whole of England, an honour to which no prelate of Canterbury had yet attained; and he succeeded, partly by reducing the power of such bishops as were inclined to oppose him, and partly by introducing his friends into the newly erected sees. He was, nevertheless, careful to advance the papal authority, except when it came in competition with his own. Nor was he neglectful of the interests either of the people, or clergy. While for the use of the former, he wrote a work, called Penitientiale, he established a regular provision for the latter, by a tax imposed on their several parishes. He died, A. D. 690, at the advanced age of eighty-nine years, during twenty-two of which he had occupied the metropolitan chair. His successor, Berthwald, abbot of Reculver, was the first Saxon promoted to that dignity.

XXIII. The misfortunes of Wilfred were rendered instrumental by that Being who extracts good from evil, and permits evil that it may lead to good, in advancing the empire of Christianity. Persecuted by his prince, though delivered from confinement, he took refuge in Sussex, and con-

verted that kingdom ; where, after adding the inhabitants of the Isle of Wight to the number of his new proselytes, he fixed his residence at Chichester. Thus, A. D. 686, and ninety years after the arrival of Augustine, the seventh and last state of the Heptarchy was converted to the Christian faith. True zeal is the sister of benevolence ; and hence, in its solicitude for the souls of men, it is not regardless of their bodily comforts. It is recorded of Wilfred, that he instructed the people of Sussex in the useful art of fishing ; and that, having on one occasion administered the sacrament of baptism to two hundred and fifty male and female bondservants, he obtained their liberty from their respective masters *.

That in so short a period seven barbarous and warlike kingdoms were converted to a faith which flatters no passion, which dazzles not the senses, and which it requires some portion of mental illumination, rightly to appreciate, is a fact almost unparalleled in the annals of ecclesiastical history. To state the causes of it may afford no useless admonition to the conductors of missions in modern times. They seem to have been shortly these : that the preachers began with the higher, and ended with the lower orders ; that they proceeded from plain truths to mysterious doctrines ; that they laid a foundation for religious knowledge in

* Fuller ; Collier ; Eddius in Vita Wilfred.

general education, and that they were guided by a spirit of charity. We may add as a circumstance favourable to their success, that there were few controversies, fewer heresies, and little or no persecution*.

XXIV.—*Eighth Century.* Wilfred was, not long after the above-mentioned events, restored to some part of his authority in Northumberland; but his haughtiness and ambition, the vices of his prosperity, returning, he was a second time expelled, and now retreated into Mercia, where he succeeded to the vacant bishopric of Leicester. With this preferment, however, he was far from being contented; and, after making a variety of restless attempts to recover his former greatness, died in possession of the bishopric of Hexham, and abbacy of Rippon, which was all he was ever able to regain of his Northumbrian possessions and authority.

XXV. For a considerable time after Wilfred's death in the commencement of the eighth century, the English church enjoyed tranquillity; and the Venerable Bede concludes his narrative in the year 731, by giving a list of the sixteen bishoprics, of which the establishment was then composed. These were, Canterbury and Rochester, in the kingdom of Kent; London, in that of Essex; Dunwich and Elmham, in the state of the East Angles; Winchester and Sherburn, in Wessex

* Eccles. Register, vol. ii.

(the two dioceses into which that kingdom and bishopric had been lately divided); Litchfield, Leicester, Hereford, Worcester, and Synacester, in Mercia; and York, Lindisfarne, Hexham, and Withern, in Northumberland. Some time after the removal of Wilfred, a bishop of Selsey was consecrated in Sussex, making the whole number of English prelates amount to seventeen*.

XXVI. The history of England during the Saxon heptarchy being entirely written by monks, it is for the most part a narrative of the conversions of the kings, their retirement from the world, their erection of monasteries, and the privileges granted by them to the clergy. Cadwalla, king of the West Saxons, having abdicated his throne, and assumed the monastic habit, settled the government of his kingdom upon Ina, his relative, a youth of courage and piety. From Ina's code of civil and ecclesiastical laws, the few which follow may be singled out, as the most remarkable of the latter description.

1. If an infant be not baptized within thirty days after his birth, the parent shall forfeit thirty

* Bede's works are published in eight folio volumes. He derived the epithet of Venerable from the following circumstance. His epitaph originally consisted of the words, "Hæc sunt in fossâ, Bedæ ossa," a proper term being wanted to fill up the couplet. This was supplied by an unknown hand, which inserted the word "Venerabilis."—One of the principal works of Bede is the English translation of the Gospel of St. John. He died A. D. 735, in the 53d year of his age, of a pulmonary consumption, brought on by intense application.

shillings: and if through this neglect the infant dies unbaptized, the forfeiture shall amount to the whole estate.

2. If a servant do any work on the Lord's day by command of his master, the former shall be set at liberty, and the latter shall pay thirty shillings. A freeman working shall pay sixty shillings; a priest one hundred and twenty shillings; and a servant unbidden by his master shall be scourged.

3. The kirk-scot, which is the first fruits of seeds, is to be paid to the church at the feast of St. Martin, under a penalty of forty shillings, and of twelve payments of the said first fruits.

4. Criminals taking refuge within the walls of a church shall enjoy the privilege of sanctuary: but if the crime be capital, they shall make a reasonable compensation.

XXVII. In the year 731, the archiepiscopal dignity was restored to the see of York, which had been deprived of it since the resignation of Paulinus: and at this time commenced that contest for pre-eminence, betwixt the archbishops of this see and Canterbury, which was prolonged for several ages. Egbert, brother to the Northumbrian monarch, received the honour of investiture from his royal relative; an honour confirmed, but not conferred, by the pall, which he obtained from Rome.

XXVIII. A celebrated council, relating to church discipline, was convened at Cloveshoo,

or Cliff, near Rochester, in the year 747, by Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury. No mention is to be found in the accounts of its proceedings, of union under, or subjection to, the see of Rome: and it was decreed, that bishops should make annual visitations of their dioceses, keep a watchful eye over their inferior clergy, and inquire minutely into the learning and morals of the candidates for holy orders. To the abbots was recommended a superintendence of the morals of ecclesiastics, resident in their respective monasteries. And the clergy themselves were required to mingle amongst the people; to preach and baptize; to learn the Creed and the Lord's Prayer in the English tongue; and to teach them in the same language to their congregations; to explain the offices of baptism and the Lord's supper; to encourage church music; to be regular themselves, and to exhort the people to regularity, in attendance on the sacraments, as well as in confession, fasting, and almsgiving. The same canons admonish the people to learn the Creed and Lord's Prayer by heart, to observe the Sabbath, to avoid drunkenness, to make prayers for their princes, and to beware of excusing the violation of one duty by the performance of others; above all, the neglect of church discipline, by liberality in the giving of alms.

In the 27th canon of this council is preserved the form of prayer for the dead, at that time used in England. It presents a faint dawn of the doctrine of purgatory, beseeching God to grant that

the soul of the deceased may be secured in a state of repose, and admitted with the rest of the holy saints into the regions of light and happiness.

XXIX. In the middle of the eighth century, the Pope, being presented by king Pepin of France with the exarchate of Ravenna and other Italian territories, became able to extend with spirit and success his pretensions to ecclesiastical dominion; and Litchfield being established into an archbishopric with his concurrence, two legates were sent by him into England, where they held a council at Calcuith * in Mercia, A. D. 785. The articles of this assembly, in all twenty, are of no great importance. Baptism was permitted only at Easter and Whitsuntide. Two provincial synods were directed to be held every year; and tithes ordered to be faithfully paid, agreeably to the Mosaic law.

XXX. The Papal authority, however, had not hitherto been acknowledged with so blind a submission by the English, as to bring them to conformity with the will of the Popes, in regard to the adoration of images. On the deaths of Leo the Isaurian, and his son Constantine Copronymus, well known for their aversion from image-worship, the wicked Irene attempted the restoration of that idolatrous practice. Her design having been seconded by a body of obsequious ecclesiastics, selected for the purpose, to form the second council of Nice,

* Supposed to be Blackrode, a village in Lancashire.

A. D. 787, a copy of their decrees was dispatched by Charlemagne to the king of Mercia, A. D. 792: but the English bishops unanimously disapproved of them, as recommending an idolatry, which the true catholic church had ever held in the strongest abhorrence.

XXXI. In a pilgrimage to Rome, the superstitious Mercian sovereign Offa granted to the Pope three hundred and sixty-five mancus's, each amounting in value to seven shillings and sixpence, for the support of the poor, and for providing lamps and candles in the churches. This donation, for it was no act of homage, is said to have been presented by the king of Mercia, in consequence of his having discovered the bones of St. Alban. After these relics of the English protomartyr had been dug up, and inclosed in a magnificent shrine of gold, richly inlaid with pearls, a monastery was built around them at St. Alban's, and Offa went to Rome, in order to procure for it exemption from episcopal jurisdiction. In the time of Edward the Confessor, however, this grant of mancus's, originally a pension from the crown, began to be levied on the people. Rome imperiously demanded, as a mark of subjection, that which she had originally received as a gift: and as the bones of Alban had been found on the first of August, called St. Peter's ad Vincula, the charity, on being now converted into a tribute, was termed Peter's pence. At the same time the use to which it was des-

ted was changed into the support of an English school, which had been founded at Rome by Ina, king of Wessex. It is generally believed, however, that the principal object of Offa's journey was to obtain a pardon for the murder he had lately committed, in violation of the laws of hospitality, on his guest, Ethelbert, king of the East Angles. On the death of Offa, the see of Litchfield returned to its former subordination, and at the request of Kinulph, the succeeding monarch, Canterbury was once more pronounced by the Pope, to be the metropolitan church of England.

XXXII. *Ninth Century*.—In a decree obtained from Rome, for putting monastic establishments entirely under ecclesiastical authority, we remark the first symptoms of the large encroachments made by the Pope on the church in the ninth century.

XXXIII. The most remarkable act of the second council of Calcuith, held in the year 816, was an order prohibiting any ecclesiastic from invading the bishopric or diocese of another, save only when called on to baptize, or to visit the sick. It seems to have been here considered that baptism, in emergencies of sickness, was of sufficient importance to sanction an encroachment on the province of a neighbour; and that although it was not, in common cases, becoming in parishioners to take capricious exceptions against their proper ministers, the sick ought in charity to be indulged in their preference of any one spiritual counsellor to

another. Amongst the canons of Calcuith, which were in all eleven, we find one enjoining immersion in baptism ; and another prohibiting the Scottish clergy from officiating within the English territory : the reason assigned being that it was not certain whether they were regularly ordained.

XXXIV. The establishment of the English monarchy, on the ruins of the seven kingdoms, increased the unanimity of the ecclesiastics, and consolidated the organization of the different dioceses : but the prosperity of the church suffered a dreadful interruption from the pagan and barbarian Danes ; who used their victories with great cruelty ; moving about the island (as a writer observes) like a flying gout in the human frame ; and every where destroying monasteries, and massacring the clergy. In this manner was England, during a long course of years, “ scared by Danish howlings as they passed.” From these calamitous circumstances, nevertheless, Providence extracted many advantages. For the ecclesiastics who escaped, dispersed themselves amongst the villages, and there exercising the sacred functions, attended more closely to the spiritual wants of the people, than they had done during their former residence in monasteries. To encourage this auspicious change of habits among the clerical orders, religious and patriotic citizens vied with each other in increasing the number of parish-churches ; and the selfish

celibacy of the monastic life was soon exchanged by the ministers of the church, for the social charities arising from intermarriages with the parishioners, among whom they were thus at once compelled and induced to mingle. Hence, before the expiration of the ninth century, monastic institutions were nearly forgotten ; and by far the greater number of the English clergy had entered the state of matrimony. To regard with satisfaction this ruinous or deserted condition of the monasteries, is natural : yet the feeling will be considerably damped when we reflect, that the records deposited in these institutions have unfortunately, for the most part, perished along with them ; leaving us only scanty and traditionary intelligence respecting the ecclesiastical affairs of that period. “*Neque enim silenda laus Britanniae, Scotiae, et Hiberniae, quae studio liberalium artium eo tempore antecellebant reliquis occidentalibus regionibus : et cura praesertim monachorum, qui literarum gloriam, alibi aut languentem, aut depressam, in iis regionibus impigre suscitarent, atque tuebantur.*”

XXXV. Ethelwolf, the second king of England, who had been originally designed for holy orders, being absolved from his vows by the Pope, was not forgetful, on his accession to the throne, of his former friends and instructors, the clergy. In a charter, dated at the royal palace of Wilton, A. D. 854, a grant was made by this monarch to the church of all the tithes of the kingdom, or, according to

some, of his own demesnes, or of Wessex, free from every incumbrance incidental to lay-fees *. For the two former centuries, the maintenance of the clergy had been derived from the produce of lands given or bequeathed by kings or wealthy subjects, from the gratuitous offerings of the people, and the kirk-scot of a Saxon penny, levied on every house, the rent of which amounted to thirty Saxon pence.

XXXVI. But during the irruptions of the Danes, when the lands were laid waste, when the people were in no condition to make oblations, and when government found it impracticable to raise the church tax, the ecclesiastical orders were reduced to great necessity. It was to relieve them from this calamitous condition, as well as in the hope of being delivered from his enemies by their prayers, that Ethelwolf made his grant. In these distracted times, however, the advantages accruing from it could not be great. Indeed, the claim to tithes, as the proportion settled by the Levitical law for the maintenance of the priesthood, had

* “ Ut decimam partem terrarum per regnum nostrum, non solum sanctis(æ) ecclesiis(æ) darem, verum etiam ministris nostris in eâdem constitutis, in perpetuam libertatem habere concessimus: ita, ut talis donatio fixa, incommunicabilisque permaneat, ab omni regale servitio, et omnium secularium servitute, absoluta.”

Signed with the crosses of Ethelwolf, Elstan, bishop of Sherborn, Swithin, bishop of Winchester, and four abbots.—*Monasticon Anglic.* v. i. p. 100.

been made, it is certain, prior to this time, but could not be rendered effectual.

XXXVII. Under the successive reigns of the three oldest sons of Ethelwolf, the desolate state of the church continued. In the destructive march of the wide-wasting Danes, the monasteries of Croydon, Peterborough, and Ely, were broken into, and all the monks put to the sword. The religious houses were every where the chief objects of depredation, sought by these ferocious invaders, as at once possessing the largest treasures, and offering the least resistance. Lodbroke, the falconer of the Danish king, having been accidentally put to death by the East Angles, the barbarians sought revenge by slaying Edmond, the sovereign of that people; whose memory is preserved by the name of the town, Bury St. Edmond's, in which he was interred. At length, in the year 878, Alfred, emerging from the obscurity wherein he had been concealed, checked the career of these savage invaders, over whom he obtained a celebrated victory. The subsequent treaty of peace having stipulated, that such Danes as still adhered to paganism should abandon the kingdom; and that lands in Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, and the isle of Ely, should be apportioned to those who would consent to embrace Christianity; Guthrum, the Danish king, with most of his nobility and followers, preferred a lucrative conversion to unrecompensed idolatry, and submitting to the rite of

baptism, became thenceforward peaceable subjects. Among the excellent laws established in the reign of Alfred, several ecclesiastical constitutions are found, which we shall have occasion to notice in our Appendix to the present chapter. This monarch, on the restoration of peace and prosperity, repaired many ruined churches and monasteries, and erected new ones as schools and seats of learning, wherever they seemed to be wanted.

Alfred, more truly deserving of the epithet Great than all the mighty spoilers who have dishonoured it, was removed to a better world at the conclusion of this century, after a glorious reign of thirty years; during the principal part of which he had laboured with all his might to promote justice, literature, religion, and good morals; and to exhibit to posterity, the vast strides in improvement which a kingdom may make under the zeal and piety of a wise and active monarch. Next to the examples held out to us in Scripture, the character of this sovereign seems deserving of being studied, as one from which nearly all ranks of men may equally derive edification. If we were to judge of him from his writings, he might seem to have passed his life in an university; if by his exploits, in a camp; if by his piety, in a cloister; if we consider his admirable sense, and useful wisdom, we might imagine him to have made law, and the dispositions of mankind, his sole study. All his virtues were nicely balanced, so that no one of

them deprived another of its due weight. From him the statesman might learn to find time in the busiest life for the exercises of religion; the warrior, to temper courage with piety and humanity; the recluse, to add activity to devotion. In addition to what is commonly known of Alfred, and of which a repetition would be foreign to our purpose, it is not unsuitable to the present work to state, that during the glow of youth, and in the full vigour of passion, he was accustomed to rise in the middle of the night, that he might steal privately to the church; where he was overheard praying that God would fortify him with his grace, and, rather than suffer him to fall into a libertine practice through the sunshine of uninterrupted prosperity, impose some check upon his flow of health, if by no other means the edge of his desire might be blunted, and his Christian obedience secured *.

In the constellation of his virtues, it likewise deserves to be recorded, that gratitude shone conspicuously; as appears from his appointment of *Durwulphus*, the neat-herd whom he had served in *Athelney*, to the rich bishopric of *Winchester*. Yet he did not suffer his gratitude to disgrace the hierarchy, or to injure religion by the promotion of ignorance and incapacity; having previously taken care that his former master should undergo a complete course of study at *Oxford*.

* Collier. Fuller.

XXXVIII. *Tenth Century*.—The reign of Alfred appeared, in the midst of the dark ages, like a gleam of sunshine in a stormy day. If we consider the confusion which prevailed in England after his death, in consequence of a disputed succession, of the revolts of naturalized Danes, and of the invasions of their countrymen, whom they invited to aid them; we shall not be greatly surprised to find, that the interests of literature and religion, which Alfred had so much at heart, declined in the reign of his successor, Edward the Elder. This son of the great and good monarch Alfred, after having suffered a certain number of the English sees to remain vacant during several years, probably with a view to replenish his coffers with their revenues, was threatened with excommunication from Rome. In apprehension of this most formidable of evils, he lost no time in filling up the vacancies, and even atoned for his past negligence, by erecting three additional bishoprics: one at Wells; one at Kirton, or Crediton, in Devonshire; and the third either at Wilton, in the same county, or at Padstow (St. Petrock's), in Cornwall.

XXXIX. Edward dying A. D. 925, was succeeded by his son Athelstane; a prince whose reign affords more materials for civil than ecclesiastical history. He, however, convened several synods, the chief of which was held at Gratanlea, or Groetly, in the third year after his accession.

In this assembly the general payment of tithes was enjoined by the royal mandate : but it is probable that little more regard was paid to it than had been shown to that of Ethelwolf. The payment of the ancient provision of church scot (Cyricseat) was also decreed : from whence it appears, that the grant of tithes did not preclude the claims of the clergy to any of their former revenues. So little was this age acquainted with the doctrine, which exempts the persons of ecclesiastics, and the affairs of religion, from civil jurisdiction, that several canons of this council, which was principally composed of laymen, delineate the functions of the bishops ; principally, indeed, as they relate to the administration of justice, and maintenance of public tranquillity. Among their duties are mentioned, the regulation of weights and measures ; the assistance of the aldermen in the courts ; and superintendence of the labour of slaves. Athelstane died at Gloucester in the year 941, after a reign of sixteen years ; leaving the crown to his brother Edmund.

XL. Odo, a wise and active prelate, was archbishop of Canterbury at the accession of this prince. His constitutions, which seem to have been pastoral charges, delivered at his episcopal visitations, and published for the instruction of the clergy and people, are in all ten. They assert the immunity of church revenues from taxation ; admonish princes, bishops, monastics, and secular

clergy, to strict and exemplary conduct: forbid incestuous marriages; and exhort all orders to peace and unity.

XLI. The celebrated Dunstan, who now appears upon the stage, had received his education in the abbey of Glastonbury, where intense application to the learning of the times had thrown him into a dangerous fever. To his extensive philosophical and theological knowledge he added remarkable skill in the fine arts; and, from his taste and talents for painting and engraving, seems to have acquired a predisposition to saint-worship. These accomplishments might well, in a barbarous age, subject their possessor to the charge of being a magician: an imputation strengthened by his display of ingenuity in stringing an *Æolian* harp; of which the wild swellings were but inadequately celebrated in the following barbarous stanza:

“ St. Dunstan’s harp close by the wall
Upon a pin did hang-a;
The harp itself, with peg and all,
Untouch’d by hand did twang-a.”

To Dunstan’s working in brass and iron may be referred the well-known legendary story of his seizing the devil by the nose with a pair of tongs, when he had approached in the shape of a fair woman:—“ a Venus,” says Fuller, “ to a Vulcan.” At an early age this accomplished ecclesiastic had obtained the protection of Athelstane; but that monarch’s affections being turned away from the new favourite by the insinuations of the en-

vious courtiers, he again retired to a cell at Glastonbury, an apartment so limited in dimensions that he could not stretch out his limbs during repose, where he addicted himself as before to devotion and study, resorting at intervals to his usual recreations of the lyre, the pallet, and the anvil. In the year 941, Edmond, the next monarch, recalled this versatile genius to court, and conferred on him the abbey in which he had received his education. The favourite was still more warmly patronized by Edred, the successor to Edmond, who, at his request, stripped the crown of its most valuable possessions, in order to build and endow churches and monasteries. But no sooner had Edwy, the nephew of Edred, ascended the English throne, than with the aid of his council he reversed all the measures, which had passed in the late reign, in favour of the monks. The secular clergy, whom Dunstan had dispossessed, were thus restored to their benefices.

On this change the monastic order pronounced the bitterest invectives; while Dunstan, by stimulating their resentment, incurred the royal displeasure. But the chief cause of Edwy's dislike is affirmed to have been the boldness of the Abbot, in reproaching him, like another John the Baptist, for his incestuous connexion with his queen Elgiva; a rudeness by which the prince was provoked to deprive this ungracious censurer, of all his preferments, and to banish him from the

kingdom. Two years afterwards, however, a favourable reverse in his fortunes once more took place. Prince Edward having possessed himself of all the dominions north of the Thames, belonging to his brother Edwy, recalled the Abbot, and gave him the bishopric of Worcester, 'A. D. 937 ; to which that of London was speedily added.

Dunstan now combined the characters of chief confident and prime minister of his patron, who becoming sole monarch in the year 959, took an early opportunity of raising him to the highest dignity of the church. Having attained this pinnacle of authority, and relying on the royal protection, the new archbishop of Canterbury prepared for the execution of his long-meditated design, of compelling the secular clergy to repudiate their wives ; or, on their refusal, of ejecting them from their benefices, and substituting in their place the Benedictine monks whom he patronized. With this view he preferred two zealous coadjutors to the sees of Worcester and Winchester, and then proceeded with such vigour and system, that in a few years the married clergy of these three dioceses were dismissed from the cathedrals, and no fewer than forty-eight monasteries were filled with Benedictine brethren.

In these measures the holy triumvirate were assisted by Edgar, surnamed the Peaceable : a prince, who was far from meriting the epithets of

pious and devout and merciful, which the monastic writers have prostituted in his praise. He had seduced a nun, murdered his secretary, and taken the widow of the deceased to his own bed: for all which offences the artful penance imposed on him was the laying aside of his crown for seven years, and the substitution of monks for married clergy, in the churches.

To these punishments Edgar patiently submitted; so fully say the church historians was he Dunstanized: and on this occasion, A. D. 966, he was further prevailed on to deliver an harangue, abusive of the secular clergy, on account of their alleged licentiousness and profaneness; their hunting, dancing, and neglect of the tonsure. In this speech he thus addressed the Archbishop: "O father! fancy you behold my sire, glistening among the stars, and ready to launch himself from the sky, while he thus expostulates with you: Strike boldly; expel irregular livers from the church of Christ." The measure, however, was extremely unpopular: nor do any of the other bishops appear to have concurred in it. Even in the archiepiscopal church of Canterbury, Dunstan did not wholly succeed in attempting to remove the secular clergy. In other parts, the ecclesiastical body remonstrated; and a council was held at Winchester, A. D. 977, for the purpose of hearing their complaint: but the voice of an invisible person, who cried from behind the wall, "Non

fiat : judicastis bene ;" being considered as a miraculous warning, deterred the superstitious assembly from proceeding.

Collier, the historian, has, in this place, entered into a long and learned defence of the married clergy: showing, 1st, That there is no divine ordinance enjoining the celibacy of priests ; 2dly, That the imposition of it is unreasonable ; and, 3dly, That it was never generally imposed or admitted in the ancient church. We shall defer entering on this subject, until we come to speak of the Reformation. Indeed the question at this period, was not, whether it was lawful for the clergy in general to marry ; but, whether married ecclesiastics, or monks, should possess the cathedrals and abbeys. A preference shown to the latter was designed by the popes as a preliminary measure to the universal introduction of celibacy, which they well knew would best separate ecclesiastics from the civil power, and confine their ambition solely to a desire of promoting the interests of the Catholic church.

Dunstan died in the year 988. Whatever blame may be thrown on this prelate's character, the impartial historian must admit that he possessed great ability, good sense, versatile talents, inflexible independence, and a sincere desire, in some instances mistaken, but for the most part well directed, for the advancement of true piety and virtue. His refusal to absolve a profligate

nobleman, at the command of the Pope, which we have recorded in the following chapter; and his declaration, when the licentious Edwy tendered to him the hand of friendship, that he would not be friend to any one who was an enemy to Christ; showed that his ambition was subservient to a higher principle, for the sake of which he could equally set at naught the smiles and the frowns of the great. The share of praise here bestowed on Dunstan may be justified by a reference to the canons of King Edgar; for although published under the name of that monarch, we can hardly doubt that they were framed by the favourite. Among these canons one directs, that the clergy shall be constant at their devotion; praying that the people may be loyal and faithful to their prince: another, that a synod was to judge of an injury received by any priest, as if it had been inflicted on their whole body; and a third, that every priest should learn some trade or employment, as a resource in indigence or misfortune. All persons are ordered, in the same rule of discipline, to train up their children in the Christian faith; teaching them the Lord's Prayer and the Creed; without learning which, it was pronounced, that they could not be admitted to the eucharist, or receive Christian interment. Hunting and hawking are condemned as amusements unbecoming a clergyman, who should rather addict himself to study. The clergy were obliged to confine them-

selves to forms in the exercise of public prayer ; always to use books, that mistakes might be avoided ; and to have the eucharist ready and fresh. They were also enjoined to exhort their several congregations to confession and restitution. With a view to facilitate obedience to this last injunction, a form of confession follows the canons, in which the priest is directed to examine the penitent with great minuteness, distinguishing the shades of guilt according to circumstances ; proportioning the penance to the temper, age, capacity, and condition of the criminal ; and inflicting greater severities on the man of quality than on a peasant, in consideration of his sinning against clearer conviction. But although several superstitious and foolish directions are found both in the canons and confessional, there is not the slightest mention of Virgin or saint worship. At the same time a penitential was drawn up, in which the good sense and piety of Dunstan, the supposed author, are still more conspicuous. It is appointed, that a crime committed by a drunken man shall be considered as a double offence ; that penance should be relaxed and commuted for charity, in the case of persons unable to undergo the rigours of fasting ; that great men should observe the strictest fasts, in consideration of their luxurious habits ; and that the superfluous dishes of their table should be sent, during their seasons of abstinence, to the poor.

Useful penances too were recommended in preference to such as were unmeaning; and among the former were specified visiting the sick, building churches, alms-giving, and assisting in the burial of the dead. Penitents were likewise charged to be vigilant against the recurrence of former failings, and to use their utmost endeavours in reclaiming all those whom their persuasions had seduced, or their example misled. It is the more necessary to record these sagacious instructions, as Henry, who is commonly referred to as the latest authority, and whose volumes are the only sources of information on such points, within the reach of ordinary readers, represents the penitential as altogether childish and ridiculous; and Dunstan as an ambitious, wily hypocrite, worthy only of contempt and indignation. In the volumes of that historian, indeed, we frequently observe a disposition to exaggerate the ignorance, superstition, and imperfect practice of ecclesiastics in the dark ages, beyond the strict limits of truth. But as the light of Christianity, though sometimes dimmed, has never been totally eclipsed, it has at no period entirely failed to call forth the fruits of virtue.

Indeed, there have not been many profound hypocrites, many individuals thoroughly depraved, in any age of the world; but especially in ages in which the voice of conscience has been reinforced by the evidences and doctrines of revealed reli-

gion: although that religion have been occasionally mingled with error, and debased by idle rites. And surely it is of no small consequence to prove that, even in its corruptions, the Gospel produces moral effects. For if this be true, we are led to anticipate the most beneficial and happy results from the same system, when held in all its purity.

But whatever credit we may give to Dunstan, for his good intentions, in wishing to substitute a sober for a more licentious priesthood (for certainly the secular clergy were guilty of many shameful irregularities), we must condemn his zeal for the celibacy of the sacred order, as in itself unfounded in Scripture or reason, and eventually contributing to the subsequent disasters of the country. The fatal effects of the increase of monasteries were felt after the deaths of the three bishops, who opposed themselves to their married brethren; for a spirit of irrational religion was thereby diffused among the people; and the lands of England falling principally into hands which were altogether incompetent to their defence, became an easy prey to the Danish, and subsequently to the Norman invaders. The success of these strangers was further facilitated by the impoverishment of the exchequer and demesne lands, in the building of abbeys; which rendered it impossible for the succeeding monarchs to raise and maintain a military force, in any degree adequate to the purposes of defence.

The reign of Edward the Martyr, who succeeded his father Edgar in 975, comprehends no ecclesiastical incident of importance, besides the synod of Winchester, already mentioned. Being murdered by command of his stepmother at Corfe Castle in Dorsetshire, A. D. 978, he made way for the accession of Etheldred II. the son of that princess, reproached for his weakness with the surname of Unready.

The attacks of Danish and Norwegian foes alienated the mind of this monarch from religious concerns; and so little did he respect the clergy or the faith, that on a slight quarrel with the bishop of Rochester, he laid siege to that city, and devastated the church lands: nor did he withdraw his troops until prevailed on by the bribe of one hundred pounds, offered him by Dunstan, who had in vain attempted to divert him from his sacrilegious purpose, by previous exhortations and threats.

XLII. *Eleventh Century.*—The first circumstance deserving of being recorded among the events of the eleventh century, is the translation of eighty sermons or homilies, from the Latin into the Saxon tongue, by Alfrick, archbishop of Canterbury, who wisely and humanely applied this remedy to the incapacity of the clergy for instructing the people.

This prelate likewise published a charge, containing thirty-seven injunctions to his clergy; among which the most remarkable is that which

describes the offices of seven orders of the ministry, according to their respective names. These are as follows :—1. The ostiary : 2. The lector : 3. The exorcist : 4. The acolythist, or taper-bearer : 5. The sub-deacon : 6. The deacon (who places the oblation on the altar, reads the Gospel, baptizes children, and gives the housel to the people) : and, 7. The presbyter, whose office it is to preach, baptize, and to consecrate the housel, or eucharist.

By the twenty-third canon, the priest is commanded to explain every Sunday, in English, to the people, the Gospel for the day ; and to teach them the Creed and Pater Noster, as often as he shall find convenient. The twenty-seventh canon demands our notice, as forbidding priests to receive money for administering the rite of baptism : and to the writer of this history it appears desirable, that such an injunction should be still in force : the selling of a sacrament or means of grace coming nearer, in his mind, to the crime of simony, than the transaction to which that name is usually appropriated. By the thirty-second of Alfrick's institutions, priests are enjoined to have at all times oil in readiness, for the administration of chrism in baptism, and sickness ; but this rite is not held by him to be necessary in sickness ; much less to be a sacrament. The people are further directed to kiss the cross on Good Friday ; priests are ordered to mix water

among which the most remarkable is that which

with the sacramental wine; and Sunday is appointed to be observed, as a sabbath, from Saturday at noon until Monday morning.

What has been said of laws may be affirmed concerning ecclesiastical history,—that it is silent in the midst of arms. During the Danish irruptions, in the early part of the eleventh century, we meet with no facts which fall within our province, except the two unimportant councils of Ensham and Hobham; together with the siege of Canterbury. This city was ineffectually defended by the primate Elpheg, a prelate whose magnanimity and contempt of life equalled any display of these virtues exhibited in ancient Rome: while his sanctity and resignation would have done honour to an apostle.

This man refused to save himself by flight: he rushed between the enemy and the infants whom they were butchering; and when an accommodation was proposed on condition of the payment of threescore talents of silver, he declared, that he would neither plunder the church, nor persuade his king to make a dishonourable peace. The great and good Elpheg was accordingly put to death by the Danes, with circumstances of refined cruelty; and expired, praying fervently for the grace of Heaven, and for its forgiveness towards his enemies.

XLIII. The Danes having possessed themselves of the greater part of this country, and the Eng-

lish nobility and bishops having acknowledged Canute as their sovereign, A. D. 1017, this prince, who had been converted to Christianity at the time of his father's death, manifested his sincerity by repairing those monasteries which his countrymen had lately destroyed, by building and endowing churches, and by enacting laws for their advantage.

One of these canons (which are not very important) ordains, that the friends of a deceased person, not buried in his own parish, shall pay the church-dues to the minister of the parish to which he belonged.

Canute's devotion was greatly increased, on the occasion of his pilgrimage to Rome, undertaken A. D. 1033 ; as appears from his paying the half of the taxes due by the distressed French, as he proceeded ; and on his return, by his consecrating the remainder of his days to devout offices and charitable employments. That his piety was something far more valuable than a regard for the superstitious practices of his age, a proof is afforded in his well-known rebuke, addressed to his flattering courtiers, on the banks of the Southampton river.

XLIV. After the two short and unimportant reigns of Harold Harefoot and Hardicanute, the Saxon line was restored under Edward the Confessor, A. D. 1041. In the reign of this monarch, the see of Crediton in Devonshire was re-

moved to Exeter, where it has ever since remained. Several other bishoprics were filled with natives of Normandy; to whom the Confessor, during his residence in that country, had contracted a strong attachment. Of the ecclesiastical laws passed by King Edward, three only deserve attention:—the first exempted the clergy from Danegelt; the second deprived churches of the right of sanctuary; and by the last the following articles were pronounced titheable: sheep, pigs, bees, warrens, fishponds, mills, cheeses, and underwood. The cure of the king's evil by the royal touch was performed, or attempted, in Edward's reign, with a form resembling in several parts, the present office for the visitation of the sick. Two Gospels were read: the first, that for Ascension-day; and the second, a portion of the first chapter of St. John's Gospel, from the beginning down to the words Grace and Truth, which terminate the fourteenth verse. The words spoken by the king, on touching the patient, were these, "They shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover."

Edward had vowed, that if it should ever please God to restore him to the kingdom of his ancestors, he would make a pilgrimage of gratitude to Rome. On being delivered from his difficulties, he was desirous of accomplishing this purpose, though greatly discouraged by the fear of a Danish insurrection, which his absence was likely to produce. In this dilemma he applied to the Pope, who ab-

solved him from his vow, on condition of his founding a monastery, in honour of the Apostle Peter, which was the occasion of his rebuilding Westminster Abbey, on the site of an ancient religious edifice. This magnificent church was solemnly dedicated with great splendour on the Innocents Day; when the charter, bestowing on the abbey the advantages of tenure, privilege, and jurisdiction, was signed by the king, and by many of the bishops and nobles. Here, it is not unimportant to observe, Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, signed next to the queen, and before the archbishop of York, although he had not sent to Rome for a pall; a fact which evinces that the papal confirmation was not then deemed essential to an election.

It is difficult, we must own, to determine on what account the title of Confessor should be bestowed on Edward: as he had never suffered for the sake of religion, and was by no means conspicuous for exalted virtues. One historian has summed up his character, by describing him as weak, but not ill-natured; timorous, but not quarrelsome; bountiful, but not forgiving; devout, but not just; and though not virtuous enough to be canonized as a saint, not vicious enough to be enrolled among wicked princes.

XLV. His successor, Harold, fell, sword in hand, in the celebrated battle of Hastings; the disastrous issue of which put an end to the empire of the Saxons in England, after it had lasted about six hundred years. One cause of this defeat is, no

doubt, to be sought for in the disproportionate increase of English ecclesiastics; which was accompanied with their possession of one third of the lands of this country, exempt from taxation, and for the most part from military service.

When we reflect, however, not only on the Norman, but likewise on the Saxon and Danish invasions, we cannot avoid remarking, that these nations were inferior to the English, in all the important points of numbers, power, and the advantages of situation.

But in those seasons of calamity, England was divided by factions, and over-run with almost every description of wickedness: and to these causes, doubtless, it is, that her fall may be principally attributed. Let it not be forgotten, that the evening which preceded the memorable battle of Hastings, was spent by the English army in drinking, and in other ill-timed diversions: while the more sober-minded, and afterwards victorious Normans confessed their sins, and in the morning received the eucharist.

Let these examples teach us, that the computations of political sagacity, or the boast of naval and military power, are insufficient to ensure to us victory or security, unless our banners wave under the favour of Providence: and let us hence learn diligently to seek that favour by zeal for the law, and obedience to the word of God, as well as by avoiding internal divisions, and all other national and individual sins and provocations.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTERS I. AND II.

ON THE GENERAL STATE OF THE CHURCH UNDER
THE HEPTARCHY, WITH RESPECT TO
DOCTRINE AND GOVERNMENT.

Contents.

I. *Seventh Century: State of the Dioceses, and Manner of performing Service. Division of Dioceses into Parishes, and Foundation of Churches.*—II. *State of Doctrine and Discipline in the seventh Century.*—III. *Eighth Century: Church Revenues.*—IV. *Progress of Ignorance and Superstition.*—V. *Ninth Century: Tithes. Effects of Danish Irruptions. Alfred's Care of the Church.*—VI. *Tenth Century: Extent of the papal Power not great. Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist.*—VII. *Eleventh Century: Transubstantiation not yet introduced. Superstition in Pilgrimages and Relics.*—VIII. *Review of the whole Period and partial Anticipation. Images. Right of Investiture. Clerical Councils and Synods.*—IX. *Monasteries.*

HAVING already had occasion to touch on most of the subjects, to which the present Appendix is set apart, in giving a general account of the several councils and synods of the English clergy, as well as of the laws relating to the church, promulgated by different monarchs, I shall here abstain, as far as is possible, from traversing the same ground, while I endeavour to confine my attention to such observations, as are generally appli-

cable to the Christian churches, in all the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.

I. *Seventh Century*.—The dioceses of the heptarchy, except in Kent, had, at first, precisely the same limits with the sovereignties : but the seventh century had not elapsed, before Northumberland, Mercia, and East Anglia, were subdivided. About the same period, monasteries were multiplied in this country, as the seats of bishops, the seminaries of learning, and the head-quarters of the secular, itinerant clergy. The desultory services of such divines being, as I shall immediately explain, the chief means of instruction at that time enjoyed by the people, the increased number of bishoprics, accompanied with new monasteries, must evidently have been a measure of general advantage, as a means for the more extensive and regular diffusion of Christian knowledge. In this state of things, there were, of course, no titles to ordination, excepting entrance on the bishop's roll; nor were any emoluments enjoyed by the inferior clergy, besides a fourth part of the church offerings, apportioned to them by their respective diocesans.

Most writers, following the opinion of Archbishop Parker, affirm, it is true, that, about the year 633, Honorius, the fifth archbishop of Canterbury, began to divide his diocese into parishes, in each of which a resident clergyman was fixed; but, not to mention the more probable conjecture

of Selden, that the words “*provinciam suam in parochias divisit*,” allude to the division of his province into new dioceses; it was a considerable time before this example, if it was really ever set, was generally imitated.

The division of a diocese into what are now termed parishes, and the foundation of churches corresponding to them, was effected in different ways, and in the progress of several ages. In the earliest times, the *parochia* was the diocese, or episcopal district: of which all the clergy, together with the bishop, resided at the place of the cathedral. During the first centuries, stated services were performed, only in the cathedral choirs; to which all the people of a diocese resorted, particularly at solemn seasons: but to supply the inconvenience of distant residence, and difficult access, the bishops sent forth priests into remote parts of their dioceses, for the purpose of preaching and of administering the sacraments. Most of these returned from their circuits to the central church, their only fixed abode; but a few of them, encouraged by the liberality of the people, erected, in populous and zealous neighbourhoods, a plain structure for divine service, which the bishop consecrated as an oratory; but which was neither limited in the extent of its authority, nor allotted to any particular congregation, while the patronage and emoluments still belonged to the bishop. Archbishop Theodore, towards the end of the seventh

century, encouraged the powerful barons to build new churches for their people : while he provided for the maintenance of the clergy who were to officiate in them, by imposing a tax, called Kirkshot, upon every village.

To the building of the edifice, and to the choice or ejection of the priest, the consent of the bishop was requisite : and even the right of patronage belonged to these barons, only in the nature of a limited trust ; as still manifestly appears from the custom of episcopal presentation by lapse. No such church was permitted to be reared without an endowment, consisting of land, of slaves for tilling it, and of oblations made by the tenants. By original right, the bishops possessed power over all the church revenues ; but afterwards, in most places, they appropriated only one fourth part to their own use, leaving the remainder to the parish priest. Hence, we may observe, arose the obligation of the latter, to repair the chancel, to exercise hospitality, and to relieve the poor out of his revenues ; two thirds of which were originally placed in the bishop's hands for these purposes.

When the dioceses were first broken down into parishes, these subdivisions were few in comparison with those of the present establishment, one parish being for the most part commensurate with one baronial territory. But part of the great estates being soon alienated, the grantees built churches

within their allotments, for the accommodation of their tenantry and domestics. These secondary churches were at first no more than chapels of ease to the mother church, and received only a third part of her tithes: their churchyards, however, being soon consecrated, and the rights of baptism and burial being granted to them, they became distinct parishes. In some other places, churches were built, at the joint expense of several opulent individuals; and hence, in part, originated the division of parishes into medieties, or a greater number of portions, the presentation to each belonging to distinct patrons. At first, such churches or oratories were considered as chapels of ease to the cathedral church; but it was not long before they too became parish churches, being alluded to as such in some canons of Egbert, at the close of the eighth century, and of the synod of Calcuith, in the beginning of the ninth. Other churches were built by the bishops on their respective manors; and over these, known by the name of peculiars, their descendants still enjoy the jurisdiction. On other occasions, finally, the different English sovereigns, in their seats of retirement or pleasure, directed a place of worship to be built for their retinue, and hence originated the royal free chapels. All this while the bishops, with their several canons, continued to reside at their cathedrals, of which they com-

manded the revenues : nor was the prebend, or maintenance of each canon, separated from the bishop's share, till after the Norman conquest.

Such was the state of the English church prior to the reign of Edward the Confessor ; when the limits of parishes were so accurately defined, that every person might be traced to that to which he belonged. About the same time, the secondary parishes were totally detached, and possessed the full tithes within their own limits. And in Domesday-book, the parochial boundaries in general, agree, pretty nearly, with the modern division.

Besides promoting the erection of sacred edifices, Theodore, with no inferior zeal and wisdom, organized the churches under his authority ; reducing them to an uniformity in discipline and worship : so that the English church, under this archbishop, became a regular, compact establishment. Its jurisdiction, however, did not extend over Wales, Cornwall, or Scotland ; in which provinces, the churches, adhering to their ancient doctrines and forms, had not at this period any connexion, either with Rome or Canterbury.

II. To return from this narrative, in which, for the sake of connexion, it has been judged advisable to anticipate several facts, it may be generally remarked, that pilgrimages to Rome, absurd accounts of visions and miracles, voluntary fastings, and extraordinary self-inflictions, distinguish the

seventh century as an age of superstition. It would appear, that, even at this early period, the monasteries were receptacles of depravity ; though certainly, not to that deplorable extent, which disgraced a later age. “Some,” says Bede, “build monasteries, in order to obtain exemption from secular service, and the more quietly to enjoy their lusts.” The prophecy of this author, that the monasteries in course of time would paralyse the strength of the English nation, was afterwards too faithfully accomplished.

Several facts, however, conspire to prove, that ignorance was very far from having attained its height, in the century concerning which we are now treating. The study of the sacred writings, instead of being prohibited, was earnestly recommended to the people : while a critical knowledge of them was a step in the ladder, by which ecclesiastics rose to preferment.

Appeals to the Pope, and pilgrimages to Rome, were rather the result of gratitude for recent conversion, than of any acknowledgment of ecclesiastical supremacy. Wilfred’s appeal, on the division of his see, was simply a request, that the Pope would be pleased to intercede in his behalf. But ambitious and dextrous pontiffs were speedily enabled to convert this generous sentiment of respect into a tribute of base subjection. Yet this was the work of a later age ; for in the council of Hatfield, of which an account has been given, the authority

of the English metropolitans in their provinces was declared paramount, and their decisions final. In a word, the determinations of the first five general councils were the standard of faith and discipline, during the seventh century, in the established church of this kingdom, which was hitherto free from any gross error, though debased by several superstitious observances.

III. *Eighth Century*.—The first church revenues consisted of offerings, either made at the altar, or gathered in collections. Offa, king of Mercia, A. D. 794, being anxious to expiate the death of Ethelbert, a king of the East Angles, whom he had caused to be murdered, made a grant of the tithes of his kingdom to the church. That tithes, however, were before this period paid in England in the form of offerings, appears from the canons of Egbert, archbishop of York, A. D. 750 ; from an epistle addressed by Boniface, archbishop of Mentz, to Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury ; and from the seventh canon of the council of Calcuith, assembled A. D. 787. The intention of Offa's law was to give the church a civil right : a right, however, extending only over Mercia, until sixty years afterwards, when Ethelwolf appears to have made tithes general throughout England.

IV. In the course of the eighth century, the cloud of ignorance and superstition advanced over England, as over the rest of Christendom. No

less than nine of the Saxon princes renounced the world, and retired to monasteries. The sale of relics, pilgrimages, monastic seclusions, frivolous ceremonies, and indolent holidays, distinguished this unhappy period. Princes vainly sought to atone for their atrocious deeds of injustice, oppression, and murder, by magnificent offerings made to the church: and their superstitious remorse endowed religious houses with part of the spoils which their rapacity had seized, that they might purchase a false peace, and an imagined security in the possession of the remainder.

V. Ninth Century.—The succeeding century, the ninth, is rendered famous, by the general establishment of tithes under Ethelwolf. In the reign of his successor died Swithin, bishop of Winchester, who has perpetuated his name in the hopes and apprehensions of English agriculturists, and consultants of almanacks. When the Danes destroyed the monasteries, and dispersed the clergy over the country, the itinerant mode of officiating, wherever it had yet been practised, was happily exchanged for residence. The monastic life now fell into disrepute: insomuch, that when Alfred erected a monastery, he was obliged to send over to France for its inhabitants. But this change of habits amongst the ecclesiastical orders, however favourable to practical religion, was highly adverse to the interests of learning, and may indeed be assigned as the cause of that general ignorance, in the midst

of which Alfred could not find a single ecclesiastic, south of the river Thames, competent to translate the Latin service into English. Hence was that great monarch induced to make new provision for the interests of religion and learning, by inviting scholars of reputation to his court, where he supported them at his private expense. Among these the most eminent was Scotus, surnamed Erigena, an Irishman, who had been entertained abroad by Charles the Bald; and who, on his arrival in this country, became the king's preceptor in languages, and afterwards professor of divinity in the abbey of Malmesbury. In this place he soon after died of the wounds inflicted by the penknives of his pupils, with whom he had violently quarrelled. Alfred, in pursuance of his scheme for the advancement of science, likewise endowed three halls at Oxford, which, being afterwards consolidated into one society, were denominated University college. The same monarch is said to have also founded Brazen Nose. If, prior to this period, Oxford was a place of learning, it must undoubtedly have been quite insignificant and obscure. Bede takes no notice whatever of it in his History; whilst Alcuinus represents York as the seat of letters in that age. In the old accounts of the Danish ravages amongst the seats of religion and learning, no mention is made of either of the universities: and it is impossible to reconcile an idea of their flourishing state, with the dearth

of learned men south of the Humber, and the necessity for drawing them from the continent. Schools, as nurseries for the new university, were erected in the different parts of the kingdom: and lest these liberal institutions should be neglected in the prevailing turbulence of the times, Alfred translated with his own hand, into English, the pastoral letter of Gregory, the Ecclesiastical History of Bede, and, according to some historians, the Psalms of David, and the Old and New Testaments. In his Saxon translation of the Decalogue, the second commandment was omitted; while one was added, at the end, in these words: "Thou shalt not worship gods of gold and silver." This circumstance indicates that the adoration of images was then beginning to prevail. Mr. Hume states, erroneously, that it was practised by the Saxons, from the earliest introduction of Christianity. A curtain used to be drawn before the altar during the celebration of mass, with a view to raise the devotion of a superstitious people. The English kings, in the end of this century, were first crowned and anointed by a prelate.

VI. *Tenth Century*.—Hardly any changes, either in doctrine or government, happened to the church of England in the course of the tenth century. From the instructions given to the bishops at the synod of Gratanlea, we may remark, that the church was still subject to the civil power. Even Dunstan refused to yield obedience to a papal man-

date, enjoining his absolution of a certain earl, who had been excommunicated for an incestuous connexion. “When I see the excommunicated person penitent for his faults,” said he, “I shall most willingly obey the commands of His Holiness: but until this shall happen, God forbid that I should do any thing, which might occasion the guilty nobleman’s continuing in his crimes, and insulting the discipline of the hierarchy. God keep me from breaking the highest of all commands; the laws settled by Christ for the government of his church can never stoop to make so scandalous a compliance, for the sake of any mortal man living.” Nor did this determined ecclesiastic pronounce absolution, until he had received the submission of the offending individual.

Under the auspices of Dunstan, five of the larger monasteries, namely, Glastonbury, Croyland, Abingdon, Peterborough, and Ely, all of which had lately fallen to decay, were repaired, and replenished with monkish inhabitants.

Baptism was regarded, in this century, simply as an ablution from original sin, and no idea of transubstantiation was attached to the eucharist. In the penance prescribed by the canons of Edgar, there is no mention made of invocation of saints; and in the constitutions of Odo, eternal damnation is denounced against all who worship the creature instead of God. The bishops of Llandaff

were first consecrated by the archbishop of Canterbury, A. D. 981; but St. David's still continued independent of English ecclesiastical authority.

VII. *Eleventh Century*.—In Elfric's sermon for Easter-day, it is expressly affirmed, that in the eucharist, nothing is to be understood bodily, but all spiritually. The doctrine of the real presence, therefore, was unknown at this period. All the roads betwixt England and Rome were now so thickly crowded with pilgrims, that the tolls which they paid, formed considerable sources of revenue to the princes who possessed the intermediate countries. In addition to this drain, a great part of the wealth of England was lavished in the building and endowment of monasteries; a rage which unhappily had now been revived. The prodigious sums expended in the purchase of ridiculous relics, of legs, arms, and articles of apparel, pretended to have belonged to the apostles, or early saints, indicate the great advancement of superstition.

VIII. Of the state of the church during the Saxon period in general, and at the time of the Norman conquest, we may observe, that the Scriptures were generally read, while a preference was given to the original languages; that if prayers were used for the dead, it was merely as a commemoration; and that private confession, and respect for relics and images, together with the

sprinkling with holy water in the consecration of churches, were usages nearly universal. Images, however, though held in reverence, were not yet regarded as objects of worship. The laity, at the time of the conquest, and for two hundred years afterwards, communicated in both kinds. A belief in purgatory was just beginning to gain admittance. In the year 640 the first Lent was held in England, by all who followed the Roman celebration of Easter.

The GOVERNMENT of the church, we must not omit to remark, not only in Britain, but throughout all the other states of Christendom, was always episcopal for the first fifteen hundred years.

The privilege of filling vacant bishoprics formed an undisputed part of the royal prerogative, until the reign of Edward the Confessor; after which time it began to be pretended, that episcopal authority was not at the disposal of the crown. Investiture with the ring and crozier, “*per annulum et baculum*,” was not known in our island earlier than the eleventh century. These insignia of office were sent by the chapter to the king, in order to be delivered by him to the person whom he should appoint to occupy a vacant see; and though, afterwards, the chapter had the right of election, as the Wittenagamot had sometimes exercised it, subject to royal confirmation; still, as the king might refuse investiture, as well as feudal homage, which the bishops had also to perform, it

is evident that with him rested the power of appointment. In the progress of the papal authority, as will afterwards be seen, the form of investiture by the sovereign was dispensed with, and the election of bishops, performed by the deans and chapters, received confirmation from the Pope. In the subsequent disputes concerning investitures, the question was not on the part of the king, where the right of election lay, for to this he now no longer pretended; but whether a bishop elect might be installed without the royal consent.

Before the Norman conquest, the bishop of each diocese was accustomed to call together his clergy in a synod, for the transaction of ecclesiastical affairs, and these assemblies continued to the time of Henry VIII.

As the bishop thus convened the inferior clergy in his diocese, the archbishop summoned the ecclesiastics of his province, calling first the bishops, then the other dignitaries, and lastly, some of the general body of priests. In these diocesan synods, and provincial councils, the spiritual concerns of the church were long regulated. On the introduction of the Romish authority into England, a still larger assembly, or national council, consisting of the prelates of both provinces, was convoked by the papal legate.

To preserve connexion, it may here be observed, that, besides these three ecclesiastical as-

semblies, there were two other conventions peculiar to England, in which the clergy were assembled for the CIVIL benefit of the realm.

As well in consideration of their piety and prudence, as of their possessions which gave them an interest and influence in the nation, it was found expedient to annex their body to that of the laity, in national councils, or Wittenagamots; and thus bishops, abbots, and priors, were afterwards regularly summoned to parliament. The bishops and mitred abbots, by the title of their baronies, occupied a bench in the superior house; while two proctors, representing the inferior clergy, took their seats in the house of commons. The clerical orders, however, increasing in numbers and wealth, were compelled to bear a share in the public burdens, by being subjected to a certain tax, called the *trinoda necessitas*, for the charges incidental to bridges, castles, and military expeditions, for the granting of which aids, they assembled separately, in convocation, in each of the two provinces. A more particular account of these conventions belongs, properly, to a later period.

IX. Respecting the MONASTERIES, it may be observed, that some were regular, having been erected with the consent of the diocesan, and having received a monastic rule: others, and these by far the greater number, secular; in which persons of both sexes lived together in a religious manner, though not tied to monastic

regulations, or restricted by vows of celibacy. The Benedictine rule, indeed, though brought into England, by Wilfred, towards the end of the seventh century, was not generally received, till some ages after his death; Dunstan being their great patron.

The abbots in the monasteries of royal foundation, were anciently nominated by the king. Edgar resigned his right to the monks; but it was resumed by succeeding monarchs*.

Like the great lords, the abbots possessed a criminal jurisdiction within their own territories.

* Hume, vol. i.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE NORMAN CONQUEST, TO THE REIGN
OF EDWARD I.

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I. THE wealth which we have described as accumulated by the English clergy, formed the chief part of the plunder divided by the Norman invaders.

At first, the Conqueror promised, protection to the church, and, with a fair show of sincerity, built Battle Abbey, on the field of Hastings; but soon afterwards throwing off the mask, he deposed

most of the Anglo-Saxon dignitaries, and filled their vacant sees with his foreign favourites and countrymen.

Lanfranc, created archbishop of Canterbury in the room of Stigand (whom William, through dread of his power, had deprived of that dignity, in a synod, held at Winchester, A. D. 1078), convoked several councils, in which penances were prescribed to those who had killed or wounded any person, on either side, in the battle of Hastings. Such offenders were, however, permitted, by a convenient alternative, to commute their sufferings for a sum of money, or for the building and endowing of churches.

II. The long-agitated dispute about the primacy, being now renewed *, was submitted by the two archbishops to the Pope, by whom it was referred to the English bishops and abbots. With these

* Eadulph archbishop of York's profession of canonical obedience to the archbishop of Canterbury, Cent. 8th, sub fine: "Semper obedientiæ meæ humilis colla submittere curabo tibi, tuisque successoribus in perpetuum. Nec ab re est, si ad episcopalem B. Augustini sedem, cui prius præsidet Ethelardus archiepiscopus, non ego tantum, sed et omnes mecum præsules ad Doroberniam civitatem, unde nobis omnibus ecclesiasticæ dignitatis ordo, B. Gregorio dirigente, ministratur." *Anglia Sacra*, p. i. p. 78.

Thomas archbishop of York's confession of canonical obedience to Lanfranc, 1072: "Ego Thomas absolutam tibi Lanfranc Doroberniensis archiepiscopo tuisque successoribus de canonicâ obedientiâ professionem facio."

Lanfranc possessed sufficient influence to obtain from them a sentence confirming his superior jurisdiction, and in favour of which the chief and only solid argument employed, was the usage of nearly four hundred years. The Humber was at the same time fixed as the barrier of Canterbury; within which province consequently fell the disputed bishoprics of Lincoln, Litchfield, and Worcester. To Lanfranc also, about this time, a profession of canonical obedience was made by Patrick, bishop of Dublin *.

* In one of Lanfranc's councils, every bishop was commanded to hold once a year a synod of his clergy within his own diocese. It had, indeed, been always determined by ancient councils, and by the fathers of the church, that bishops should convene their priests; the canon law appoints that such meetings shall be annually held; and in the reformation of the canons under Henry VIII. this order is repeated. In small dioceses the bishop held the annual council in person; in large ones, the synods were equal in number to the archdeaconries, while every third year was reserved for the general diocesan visitation, held at different times, and in several places. In the early visitations, the priests were ranged in the order of their ordination, after which the deacons and laity were admitted. Three days were usually occupied in the transaction of business, during which the bishops made synodical inquiries agreeably to a form still extant. The diocesans published their ecclesiastical constitutions, as their successors frequently commit their charges to the press, for the sake of giving them permanence and extensive circulation.

In this reign the sees of the bishops were removed from villages to populous towns, *ne vilesceret episcopalis dignitas*. The seat of Dorchester was transferred to Lincoln; of Selsey,

III. That able but turbulent pontiff, Gregory VII. or Hildebrand, amongst his other claims to supreme and universal power, sent a legate into England, with orders to demand from the Conqueror an oath of fealty, not forgetting the arrears of the Peter's pence, now for the first time denominated a tribute. The result of this embassy, however, was very far from satisfying the lofty ambition of Gregory. He had to deal with a spirit of kindred independence in the Norman, who rejected the demand of homage, and allowed the Peter's pence to be remitted, only in the accustomed form of a donation. William likewise, in defiance of the Pope, retained the right of investiture; while he subjected to his own command the authority of the archbishop of Canterbury, in summoning councils, and excommunicating nobles.

IV. Several other changes of considerable im-

to Chichester; of Sherbourne, to Salisbury; and of Thetford, to Norwich. Lincoln cathedral was built after the model of the church of Rouen, as was that of Hereford after the church of Aix la Chapelle.

A dispute among the monks of Glastonbury relative to certain forms of prayer occasioned the settling of one uniform liturgy throughout the realm, *secundum usum Sarum*. Great trouble was occasioned to England by the attempts of the monastic orders to deliver themselves from episcopal jurisdiction. Their design was favoured by the privileges and exemptions granted by William to Battle Abbey, and by the establishment of peculiars, already mentioned.

portance were now introduced into the ecclesiastical polity. The clergy were deprived of many of their estates, and subjected to military services and other feudal prestations for such as still remained to them. They were strictly prohibited from leaving the kingdom, acknowledging the papal authority, publishing letters from Rome, attending general councils, or pronouncing excommunication, without the royal sanction *. While these alterations were effected in the government of the church, a less wise innovation was made in its doctrine by Lanfranc, who introduced the superstitious belief in transubstantiation, which he had defended against Berenger, its zealous opponent.

VI. In the latter end of the reign of William the ecclesiastical and civil courts were separated: and as the separate establishment of a consistory rendered it necessary to introduce new officers, as well as new forms; the dioceses were subdivided into archdeaconries and rural deanries, for which correspondent dignitaries were appointed. To adapt the course of ecclesiastical to that of civil proceedings, the limits of the archdeaconries were for the most part made commensurate with the counties, and those of the rural deanries with the hundreds.

* All the lands of England, and those of the clergy as well as of the laity, having been subjected to the common tenure of knight's fees and baronage; the bishops and abbots were obliged, amongst their other services, to attend the great councils of the king; and hence the seats of the former in the modern House of Peers, are held by their title as barons.

The offices of archdeacon and rural dean were, however, not wholly unknown in the Saxon period, although no jurisdiction was then annexed to them. A canon of Edward the Confessor's directs a fine to be paid to the dean in whose deanry the peace was broken. The deanry or decennary contained at first only ten parish churches, from which it derived its name; and it is said that in Wales, rural deanries are to be found, in which the original number still remains unaltered.

In a synod held at Winchester by the papal legate, an attempt was made to establish the celibacy of the clergy, but not with complete success. It was decreed that the bishops, in ordaining priests and deacons, should exact from them a promise of celibacy; but that none of the married clergy should repudiate their wives, excepting such as belonged to cathedral or collegiate churches*.

VII. Notwithstanding the various royal exactions, the revenues of Canterbury were still extremely large; as Lanfranc is said to have annually expended in charity, a sum equal in value to seven thousand five hundred pounds of modern English money. William, indeed, in depriving the clergy in general, of part of their exorbitant treasures, seems to have left them possessed of a reasonable affluence. He compelled his rapacious Normans

* Hume, vol. i.

to make restoration of such of the church lands as they had forcibly seized, and confirmed the right of the ecclesiastical order to the tithes of calves, colts, and lambs; of milk, butter, and cheese; of woods, mills, and meadows.

His exactions, indeed, were of trifling weight, in comparison with those of his son and successor, whose finger has been said to have been, like that of Rehoboam, heavier than his father's loins. "Not content," says Fuller, "with being King Rufus, he was Archbishop Rufus, Bishop Rufus, and Abbot Rufus;" for along with the revenues of Canterbury, which, after the death of Lanfranc, A. D. 1089, he kept, during almost five years, in his hands; he invested himself with the property of two bishoprics and thirteen abbeys. At length, terrified by a severe illness, he promoted Anselm to the long-vacant chair of Canterbury. As the instrument of this prelate's election styled him, "*totius Britanniae metropolitanus*," it was objected that such an appellation would throw York out of its metropolitan jurisdiction, and the term primate was accordingly substituted in place of the obnoxious word. Anselm, a man of inflexible spirit, soon after his exaltation came to a rupture with his royal patron, on the subject of his visit to Rome, for the purpose of receiving the pall; an expedition which William had strictly prohibited. Stripped of his possessions, and banished the kingdom, the primate proceeded to Rome, A. D. 1097, and was there present at a

papal council, where the celebrated canon against lay-investitures was confirmed; a canon which (as will shortly appear in the sequel), the ex-primate remembered too well for his own happiness, as well as for the tranquillity of Britain. In the mean time he remained, during his exile, at Lyons, until by the death of his persecutor Rufus, A. D. 1100, a favourable change was augured in his affairs. It is related of this avaricious and impious monarch, that he used to swear by the head of St. Luke, his customary oath, that if the Jews could by any means overcome the Christians, he would himself become their proselyte. When the clergy, on one occasion, delicately petitioned him for leave to pray that his heart might be inclined to the speedy appointment of an archbishop: "You may pray as you please," he sneeringly replied; "but, holy fathers, I will do as I please." By a single expression of this coarse and unprincipled nature, the whole character is frequently unfolded. Where shame remains, there is expectation of returning virtue; but no depravity can be more hardened or hopeless than his, who has not only ceased to blush for his vices, but is even capable of making them a subject of his merriment.

VIII. *Twelfth Century*.—Soon after the death of William Rufus, his successor, Henry I. who, taking advantage of the absence of his elder brother Robert, in Palestine, had seized the Eng-

lish crown, recalled Anselm to the primacy. To this measure he was urged by a sense of the expedience of strengthening himself in his recent usurpation, by securing the favour of the Pope and his friends. A breach, however, immediately ensued betwixt the king and the reinstated archbishop; who, being called on to do homage for the temporalities of his see, produced, as a justification of his refusal, the canon, just now mentioned, against lay-investitures *. He haughtily declared, that if his majesty should continue to confer sees and abbeys, he would refuse communion with him, and with all who should receive them at his hands. In this resistance the prelate was supported by a letter addressed to Henry by the Pontiff, Pascal II. in which he endeavours to establish his parental authority over monarchs, by citing the following words of the forty-fifth Psalm: "Instead of thy fathers, thou shalt have children, whom thou mayest make princes in all lands." The king was now reduced to a perplexing dilemma. He saw that to part with his right of investiture, was not only to resign a branch of his supremacy, and the patronage of the English church, but to discharge the clergy from their allegiance to him as sovereign. On the other hand, should he refuse to yield the point in question, it was no less to be apprehended that Anselm and Pascal would go over to the party, and add a powerful

* See Appendix to 1st and 2d Chapters.

sanction to the cause, of his brother Robert then threatening to invade the kingdom. In this difficulty the king proposed an appeal to Rome, to which the entreaties of the nobility, and of many of the bishops who espoused the royal cause, prevailed with Anselm to consent.

In the interval, while Robert landed in England with his army, the royal promises of submission to the papal will secured for a time the archbishop's fidelity. The Pope having decided, however, in favour of Anselm, the quarrel was renewed with increased acrimony. A second application to the Roman consistory was crowned with no better success than the former: for the ambassadors, having been artfully managed by the Pope, delivered contradictory accounts of his sentence, in the synod of London which was held on their return. It was proposed that messengers should once more be sent to Rome, in order to obtain a distinct reply; and in the mean time Anselm agreed to hold communion with bishops who should receive investiture from Henry, although he still persisted in refusing to consecrate them.

A short truce being in this manner obtained, the primate found time to direct his attention to the internal affairs of the church. In the synod of Westminster many acts were passed, with a view to oppose simoniacal practices: and a farther attempt was made to enforce the celibacy of the clergy, by directing, in opposition to the apostolical canons,

that all such as were married, should divorce their wives. After a protracted altercation, the dispute betwixt Henry and Anselm was at length adjusted by compromise: the former relinquishing the rights of nomination and investiture, on condition that he should retain that of receiving homage from the bishops on account of their temporalities; and the primate, agreeably to the injunction of the Pope, whom bribery had by this time softened, consenting to consecrate such of the prelates as had already done homage to the king *.

IX. At this time the abbey of Ely was converted into a bishopric, having Cambridgeshire assigned to it for its diocese. This county was detached from the extensive bishopric of Lincoln, the diocesan having been prevailed on to concur in the dismemberment, by the settlement of the manor of Spalding on his see.

X. Anselm, a warm friend to ecclesiastical celibacy, held a council in London, A. D. 1108; in which assembly ten canons were made, to prevent or dissolve the marriages of the clerical orders. The affections of nature, however, could not yet be subjected to these vain impositions of unnecessary austerity. This primate was more successful in opposing vanities in dress: having prevailed, by

* Of these the chief was Roger, of Sarisbury, of whom it is curious to remark, that he had some time before been recommended as a suitable chaplain for the camp, "because he began prayers quickly, and ended them speedily."

his preaching, with the courtiers of that time, to lay aside their fashion of wearing long and curled hair. It appears from the civil histories of the time, although Mr. Hume treats the fact with unbecoming levity, that this effeminacy was chiefly scandalous, by being connected with the practice of detestable and nameless vices *.

XI. Disputes respecting the primacy were now eagerly revived, betwixt the archbishops of Canterbury and York: of whom the latter refused the customary profession of obedience, and insisted on the right of consecrating the bishop of St. Andrew's. It was the interest of the Roman pontiff to keep this question undetermined; as he retained, by his indecision, purposely protracted, a powerful influence over the English church. Not less warm were the contests carried on between the canons of Canterbury and the bishops of that province, about the choice of a primate, on every vacancy of the see: a sad experience of the disposition of monks, when elevated to that high situation, to disturb the government, having inclined the prelates, together with the king and nobility, to desire that the archbishop should be a secular ecclesiastic, less likely to conduct himself with bigotry and turbulence, on the subjects of the late disputes. On the death of Anselm, the canons were discomfited, by the election of the bishop of Rochester, the candidate favoured by the king. When ac-

* See Hume, vol. ii.

counts of this proceeding arrived in Rome, the Pope was filled with the most violent indignation; and speedily dispatched a legate into England, bearing an angry epistle on the subject to Henry. That prince, however, paid but little regard to the blustering resentment of His Holiness, whose excommunication he appeared to dread as little, as the literal shaking off of the dust of his feet, the foolishly misapplied expression in which it was threatened*.

One powerful engine by which the Popes successfully laboured to promote their spiritual dominion, was the sending of legates into different kingdoms, ostensibly for the purpose of holding national councils. Of these officers the English clergy had formally disavowed the authority A. D. 1100, and again in 1117. In 1119 the Pope pledged his word to Henry, that unless at his request, or on some unusual emergency, no foreign legate should in future be sent into his dominions. In open violation of this solemn promise, one of these emissaries was dispatched into England so early as the following year: but the cautious monarch watched him with jealousy, and would not suffer him to act in his official capacity. To be in-

* The British church of St. David's was now subjected to Canterbury; for Henry having been applied to by the clergy of that diocese, to nominate a bishop, appointed his own chaplain Bernard, who was consecrated by Ralph, the primate, A. D. 1115.

timidated by a repulse, however, was as foreign to the papal character, as to observe a promise, when spiritual power was in view: for after the lapse of five years, we find a cardinal legate, like a vulture which returns to the carcass from which he had been frightened, once more appearing in England, and convoking a national synod at Westminster.

Here the canons respecting clerical celibacy were confirmed, and ecclesiastics enjoined to maintain no women in their houses, except near relations exempt from suspicion, who received the name of *focariæ*. But, luckily, the married clergy having the next day detected this austere legate in criminal intercourse with a common strumpet, the decree of the council became abortive and contemptible.

XII. It does not, indeed, appear, that the authority of Rome was at all diminished by this discovery: for the rival archbishops referred their disputes, in the usual manner, to the Pope, who on this occasion exempted York from all subjection to Canterbury, and pronounced the power of these two sees to be exactly equal. His Holiness seized the present opportunity of silently establishing the legatine authority in England, by conferring it on Corbel, archbishop of Canterbury, who gladly received it as a compensation for his disappointment, not foreseeing that he was forging chains for his successors. Still, however, the combined influence of the papal and archiepiscopal powers, was unable

to effect the dissolution of the marriage-tie among the clergy. The aim of an English council, which had passed an act for that purpose, was thwarted by the avarice of the king; who, being requested to enforce it, raised a large sum of money, by imposing a tax on all who refused compliance. A schism in the papacy, by engrossing the attention of the candidates, at this time left the English church in tranquillity, which continued until the death of Henry I. A. D. 1135. This monarch was endowed with the useful qualities of an able king, but not with the virtues of a good one. As he was a founder and encourager of religious houses, it is no wonder that he has been extolled above measure by the ecclesiastics, the sole historians of the time. A few years prior to his death, Carlisle was erected into an episcopal see, comprehending the counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland, with a small portion of Northumberland. Of this district the ecclesiastical rule had been assumed, during the continuance of the Danish troubles, by the archdeacons of Richmond, from whom it was now wrested.

XIII. The usurpation of Stephen was supported by the English clergy, in consequence of his having passed his sacred word to release them from the tax of Dane-gelt, to leave them in quiet possession of their woods, and on no occasion or pretence of any kind to seize the temporalities of a

see, during a vacancy *. All these fair and soothing promises were broken, as soon as the observance of them ceased to be convenient. But it was not so easy for Stephen to shake off the power of Rome, which he had strengthened in seeking to confirm his doubtful title by the sanction of a papal bull. In return for this favour, he imprudently submitted to the new encroachment of the legatine commission, which was at first rendered less odious by being conferred on his own brother, Henry, the bishop of Winchester. But not long after, a superior legate was sent over into England, who held a council in the name of the papal see, and assumed the power of nominating the archbishop of Canterbury, and of directing the chapter to elect according to his appointment; a power which ever since the Norman conquest had been exercised by the king in council. Stephen, jealous of the authority of his brother, who, as he well knew, aspired to the primacy, consented to the election of Theobald, abbot of Bec, though chosen in violation of his prerogative. In consequence of this compliance, the ambition of Henry of Winchester was immediately converted into resentment; to the gratification of which passion the juncture of affairs proved favourable: for the bishop of Ostia, his colleague in the legatine com-

* "Nihil me in ecclesiâ, vel in rebus ecclesiasticis, simoniace acturum esse, promitto."—Malmesbury, *Hist. novel.* l. i. fol. 101.

mission, having left the English territories, he resumed the sole possession of his former authority. Nor did the power he had recovered, long continue dormant. Stephen, in the apprehension of being invaded by the Empress Maud, having seized the persons and property of the bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln, whose allegiance he suspected, and whose power he feared, afforded an opportunity to the vindictive legate of summoning his royal brother before a council ; as well as a pretence, on his being taken prisoner at the battle of Lincoln, for joining the party of his rival. Henry, however, speedily revolved with the wheel, and, indeed, partly impelled it round ; for being refused a grant of lands which he had solicited for his nephew, he once more declared in favour of Stephen, and thus contributed, with a fortunate state of his affairs, to bring about his restoration to the throne.

The encroachments of the papacy, which we have already seen manifested in the *enforcement of celibacy*, and the *assumption of the right of investiture* ; in *influencing the election of primates*, and in *establishing the legatine authority*, were, in the reign of Stephen, still further advanced, by the drawing of all ecclesiastical causes of importance to Rome, by means of appeals : a measure at first occasioned by the unsettled state of the monarchy. A further stretch of papal authority was now made, in vesting the legatine commission as a per-

petuity, in the persons of the archbishops of Canterbury. Application having been made to the court of Rome by Theobald, for deliverance from the jurisdiction of his suffragan of Winchester, a decree was obtained, conferring on him and his successors the title of “*legati nati.*” Until this period the legatine commission had been granted at intervals, and expired with the Pope, from whom it was received. The archbishops of Canterbury now ceased to act by their own authority as primates; and their delegated powers obliterated the remembrance, and compensated to them the loss, of their original rights. These various changes in the discipline of the church, and the disputes which attended the legatine power, introduced into England the study of the canon law, about the year 1143. Stephen died A. D. 1154; a prince, to the enumeration of whose good qualities, which the monkish historians have represented to have been those of bravery, generosity, and mercy, a climax has been furnished by the same writers in stating him to have been a founder of religious houses. He erected St. Stephen’s chapel in Westminster, a monastery at Feversham, and an hospital at York. This last building was endowed with a tribute of twenty-four oaten sheaves, which had been exacted for every plough of land betwixt the Trent and Edinburgh, in order to feed the king’s dogs; “a wise and benevolent transfer,” as has been wittily remarked; “for

though it be unlawful to take the children's meat, and give it to the dogs, it is right to take the dogs' meat, and give it to the children."

XIV. In the succeeding reign of Henry II. the domineering spirit of Rome continued to encroach on the rights of the English church: and all the opposition which that sovereign could make proved a feeble and ineffectual barrier against its persevering and artful attacks. Henry's patience and vigilance were first exercised by a controversy, which had commenced in the preceding reign, respecting the exemption of abbots from the jurisdiction of their diocesans. This point had been originally disputed betwixt the bishop of Chichester and the abbot of Battle abbey: and it being the policy of Stephen to decide in favour of the latter, the religious in all other parts of the kingdom attempted to obtain a similar independence. The abbots having found the plea of their charters, many of which were forged, to be ineffectual, purchased bulls of exemption from Rome, and obtained along with them the investiture of mitres, as a reward for their acknowledging the authority of the Pope to be paramount to any in their own country. Along with these advantages, the abbot of St. Alban's obtained a bull, endowing his abbey with the procession of part of Hertfordshire, of which the bishop of Lincoln was thus spoiled. It may be proper to observe, that the procession here mentioned, was a sum charged upon every parish in a diocese, as an acknowledgment of its subjec-

tion to the cathedral or mother church. It derived its name from being brought in procession by the archdeacons of the different districts : and from being deposited on the altar of the cathedral at Whitsuntide, it is styled “ Pentecostals,” in the books of ecclesiastical law. Thus the grant was of great importance to the abbey, not only by delivering it from every mark of subjection to the cathedral, but by giving it the aspect of being itself the mother church. This precedent of encroachment on diocesan rights, being too faithfully imitated by other monasteries, occasioned great confusion at a subsequent period.

Adrian IV. the only Englishman who ever filled the papal chair, and whose real name was Nicholas Brekespere, was the more readily induced to grant these favours to St. Alban’s, from having been himself born at Langley, not far from that place. This pontiff either had a peculiar favour for his own country, or, under the pretence of such a predilection, sought the more artfully to advance the jurisdiction of the pontificate. And Henry, blinded by ambition, was not backward in acknowledging his superior power, and his assumed right of distributing kingdoms, by receiving from him at this time the dominion of Ireland. “ For it is certain,” says the bull in which this gift was conveyed, “ that all the islands which are enlightened by the Sun of righteousness, are St. Peter’s patrimony, and belong to the jurisdiction of the holy

Roman church:" a position to which Henry ought to have been the last to assent*.

XV. The celebrated Thomas Becket was raised to the primacy in the year 1162, by Henry II. who hoped, by the promotion of a man of business and gaiety, to govern the English church in tranquillity, exempt from the turbulence of superstitious or aspiring ecclesiastics. No sooner, however, was the favourite installed, than he directed against his patron the whole authority with which he had been invested; changed his mode of life from splendour and luxury, to the most gloomy and monkish austerity, and became the bold and haughty champion for the liberties of the church, and the immunities of his brethren the clergy. Alexander, the Pope acknowledged by the king, assembled a council at Tours, at which Becket, pretending to be troubled in mind for having accepted the gift of his archbishopric from Henry, surrendered it into the sacred hands of the pontiff, who restored it as the rightful donor. It is highly probable, that on this occasion measures were concerted for rendering all the clergy of the western churches independent of the civil powers.

XV. The main point at issue betwixt the king and the primate, was, whether the clergy, when accused of crimes, should be amenable to the laws

* About the year 1160, a small company of heretics, calling themselves Publicans, appeared in Oxford; rejecting baptism, the eucharist, and marriage: but being soon apprehended, they were scourged, and starved to death.

of the land, or subjected to the cognizance of their own order. It does not appear that Becket entertained a wish for the exemption of his brethren from punishment; for a clerk, who stole a silver chalice from the church of St. Mary in London, was degraded, and branded in the forehead, by a decree of the ecclesiastical court. Nay, he further allowed, that if any of the clergy were degraded by ecclesiastical authority, and afterwards committed other crimes, they might then be punished by the civil power: but for a first offence, however heinous, he considered degradation as a sufficient punishment of an ecclesiastic, whom he would not subject to a double penalty, to an additional vengeance on the same account, inflicted by the laws of the land.

XVII. To reduce ecclesiastics under submission to the civil authority, to limit the jurisdiction of spiritual courts, to guard against appeals to Rome, and to prohibit the introduction of all interdicts and excommunications which had not the consent of the king or his justiciary, were the chief objects proposed in the well-known constitutions of Clarendon. These acts moreover appointed, that bishops should not leave the kingdom without a license, and should lodge security for their not doing any thing abroad, to the prejudice of the crown or realm. They directed appeals to be carried from the archdeacon, successively upwards to the bishop, archbishop, and king, from whom they

allowed of no ulterior reference, unless with the royal consent. They threw into the exchequer the revenues of vacant bishoprics, and enacted that the king should summon the chapter to court, who should elect, with the royal concurrence, a prelate, who was commanded to do homage before his consecration. Pleas of debt, disputes about patronage, and the crimes of the ecclesiastical order, were all referred for trial in the king's courts. To these wise canons, Becket, in the first instance, solemnly affixed his signature: but, on further consideration, repenting of his hasty consent, he obtained a bull from the Pope, releasing him from the obligation of his oath. Much altercation ensued between the king and prelate; in the course of which a vexatious prosecution was commenced against the latter at Northampton, for the payment of sums alleged to be due by him when chancellor, although his appointment to the primacy appeared a sufficient vindication of his conduct in the former office. On this occasion, when many of the bishops deserted him, he appealed to the Pope, a measure unprecedented in a civil cause, and escaped out of the kingdom, but not until he had appointed a mass to be said, in which this haughty priest, with a truly shocking profanation, appropriated to himself the words of the prophetic Psalm, "The rulers take council together against the Lord, and against his anointed." On his arrival on the continent, he was

loudly applauded, and every where received with respect and caresses; but especially at the papal court, then resident at Sens, where, notwithstanding a deputation sent over by Henry, to plead the royal cause, the constitutions of Clarendon were formally condemned. Henry, exasperated by these incidents, stopped the payment of the Peter's pence, seized the revenues of the refractory archbishop, and confiscated the goods of four hundred of his adherents, whom he banished the English dominions. Mutual recriminations continued to pass, until the year 1167: when Becket, who mistook his haughty and resentful temper for zeal, proceeded to excommunicate publicly, at Vezelay, the chief ministers of Henry; threatening a similar sentence against the king himself, unless he should speedily repent, and repair the alleged injuries he had done to the church. In vain did the English bishops entreat this prelate to make trial of the virtue of humility. The Pope was well aware that they secretly wished him success; and relying on their support, although he dreaded Henry's acknowledgment of his competitor Pascal as pontiff, he encouraged the archbishop's obstinacy in not consenting to any proposal of agreement, without the reservation of the honour of God, and the rights of the ecclesiastical order. This limitation of his obedience he even made at Mount Miral, in Champagne, when Henry modestly demanded from him no more respect, than had formerly been

paid by the greatest archbishop to the least worthy king.

XVIII. As it would here occupy too large a space to record the various fruitless attempts which were made towards effecting a reconciliation, we must be satisfied with stating, that Becket by his firmness at length obtained a complete triumph. Henry, wearied by his vexatious behaviour, dreading excommunication, and anxious for tranquillity, conceded to him all his terms, received him graciously at Fretville in France, and even condescended to hold his stirrup at the interview. It soon appeared, however, that this reconciliation fell very far short of a real friendship. Becket, after having, under the papal sanction, suspended the archbishop of York for officiating, and the bishops of Salisbury and London for assisting, at the late coronation of prince Henry, returned to England, after an exile of six years. Every entreaty made by the royal party, for his reversal of these two sentences, proved wholly ineffectual. He pretended that these censures were not his own, but those of his superior, the Pope: and the report of his obstinacy being conveyed to his sovereign, drew from him the well-known passionate exclamation, "Will none of my cowardly men of quality have gratitude or spirit enough to deliver me from this turbulent ecclesiastic?"

XIX. These words, rashly uttered, and not intended, as it afterwards appeared, to intimate a

wish for the blood of the prelate, sank deep into the minds of several of the king's attendants, who secretly coming into England, and repairing to Canterbury by different ways, murdered Becket in the church of that city on the 29th of December 1170. This high-minded prelate died in character; retaining his wonted haughtiness and firmness to the last. When the murderers charged his servants to prevent his flight—"Flight!" exclaimed he, "who talks of flight? I will never flee from any man living; I am not come to flee, but to defy the rage of impious assassins. I am prepared to die for the cause of God, and in defence of the rights of the church." The conspirators, after dispatching the archbishop with their weapons, precipitated him over the right side of a flight of steps, leading from the choir to the body of the church. The spot on which his head pitched is still to be seen, the small square having been cut out from the pavement, and deposited in the cathedral of Ely or of Peterborough. We may avail ourselves of the present opportunity to mention, that the four assassins, despised by all mankind, spent the remainder of their wretched lives in severe austerities at Jerusalem; and dying there in the Black mountain, were buried without the door of the church belonging to the Templars. The epitaph afterwards inscribed over their tomb sufficiently shows the detestation in which they were held: "*Hic jacent miseri, qui martyrizaverunt Beatum Thomam archiepiscopum Cantuariensem.*"

Becket has been characterized by sacred and profane historians, as able, courageous, and persevering; but haughty, proud, obstinate, implacable, ungrateful. Some allowance, however, in summing up his faults, will be made by impartiality, for a mistaken conscience, which, teaching that the cause of Rome was the immediate cause of God, persuaded him that the advancement of it justified a disregard and violation of all other obligations. Becket was misled by an order of Pope Alexander III. forbidding all trial of clerks in civil courts; and by an injunction which he found delivered in the canon law, ordaining, that the commands of the Pope should be obeyed. Neither were precedents wanting in the ecclesiastical history of England, for an exemption of the clergy from civil jurisdiction: even the great Alfred having put a judge to death, for condemning a clerk; “*de que il ne poit aver cognizans.*” His opposition was moreover palliated by a law of the Conqueror, separating the ecclesiastical from the civil courts: and we have already mentioned, that, after degradation for a first offence, he consigned the clergy to the civil power, for all trespasses which should ensue. Yet notwithstanding these extenuations, the prelate cannot be justified for violating the constitutions of Clarendon, when he had once given them his solemn assent. But after having observed both in him and in Anselm a conduct proceeding on the maxim that no oath or promise is binding, in opposition to the interests of the catholic church, can we condemn the

yigilant zeal of those, who in subsequent times were anxious to inquire, whether this maxim were considered as obsolete?

No sooner did the news of Becket's assassination transpire, than Henry, the reputed instigator of the bloody deed, was covered with universal odium. To alleviate this load of obloquy, and to avert its dreaded consequence, excommunication, he sent ambassadors to Rome, where, by the judicious application of five hundred marks, they averted the threatened sentence. As the price of his accommodation with the papal court, the king promised to permit ecclesiastical appeals to be made to Rome, to restore the possessions of the church of Canterbury, and to bestow a large sum on the knights templars. Thus was the chief article in the constitutions of Clarendon repealed. Becket was not long after canonized; but even before his name was registered in the calendar, the fame of his power, with the reputation of his miracles, drew innumerable multitudes of devotees to his tomb *. The voluntary discipline to which Henry afterwards subjected himself, in a visit to the shrine of the saint, is well known to all readers of the civil history of England.

XX. The mantle of Thomas Becket appears to have dropped on Odo, the prior of Canterbury, who with his monks insisted on a right to appoint an

* "Non auditis innumeris magnisque miraculis, archiepiscopum canonizavimus, ipsumque decrevimus sanctorum catalogo ascribendum."—Pope Alexander's Bull.

archbishop, exclusive of all interference whatever, either on the part of the king, or of the provincial prelates. At length Richard, prior of Dover, was put in nomination by the chapter, and being approved of by the bishops, proceeded to Rome, where he was consecrated in the year 1174.

The primate, looking to the example of his predecessor, promised fidelity and submission to the king, "saving the honour of the sacred order;" and saying not a word about observing the laws and established customs of the land. His journey to Rome was occasioned by an appeal of the young king against his father's consent to the election; a measure which invested the Pope with the power of confirming the English metropolitans, from whence the step was easy to acquiring the same right over the appointment of diocesan bishops, as well as to the judging of all disputed elections.

By the treaty, in which William the Lion, king of Scotland, in the same year recovered his liberty, the church of his kingdom was distinctly declared to be subject to that of England: and in consequence of a letter which that monarch was prevailed on to write to the Pope, the archbishop of York was pronounced primate of Scotland. The bull, however, containing this nomination, the clergy of that kingdom had the courage to reject.

XXI. About this time, 1175, a synod of Westminster made some singular regulations relative to the moral and decorous conduct of the clergy,

chiefly prohibiting transmarine ordinations, long hair, frequenting taverns, taking money for sacraments, renting land, bearing arms, judging in capital causes, and consecrating wine in pewter vessels.

XXII. Soon after, a new cardinal legate was sent over into England, who, as his business was pronounced to be to root out and to plant, “performed it very well,” say the old historians, “by rooting money out of the pockets of others, and planting it in his own.” When this emissary had taken his seat at the council of Westminster, held A. D. 1176, the ancient quarrel, relating to precedence, was revived betwixt the archbishops of York and Canterbury, who contended for the place at the cardinal’s right hand. Roger of York, perceiving himself anticipated, indecorously seated himself on the lap of his antagonist, when a violent altercation and scuffle ensued.

As such disputes, though now of trivial interest, continued to the end of the present, and throughout the whole of the following reign, it may not be impertinent to state once for all, the arguments on which each prelate founded his title. The prelate of Canterbury rested, first, on the Pope’s acknowledgment of his precedency; for, in fact, at this time the distinction was made, calling York the primate of England, but Canterbury the primate of ALL England; secondly, on the allowance of priority by the English kings; and, thirdly, on

custom. It was on the other hand pleaded, first, that York had been the see of an archbishop long before Canterbury was converted to the faith; secondly, that Gregory had ordered the archbishops to take priority according to the date of their consecrations; and, thirdly, that York had the largest jurisdiction, having authority over all Scotland, and claiming the bishoprics of Worcester, Litchfield, and Lincoln, which were affirmed to have been wrested from it, at the period of the conquest. This last plea seems, however, to have been in part doubtful, as the two Scottish bishops of Glasgow and Withern did certainly return from a convention, held at Northampton A.D. 1176, without making any submission to either prelate: a neglect connived at by the southern archbishop through jealousy of his brother of York*.

In an agreement betwixt Henry and the cardinal legate, that no clergyman should be carried before a secular judge, except only in forest abuses, a finishing blow was given to the constitutions of Clarendon. Here we may remark, that the curtailing of the regal and civil powers in these times was less owing to the arrogance of such characters as Becket and Anselm, than to the short-sighted policy of this and the two preceding monarchs, who incautiously surrendered important privileges, for the sake of paltry immediate advantages.

* On the submission of Ireland to Henry II. the canons of Cashell modelled the Irish church, in conformity with that of England.

On the next vacancy of the archiepiscopal chair, the monks of Canterbury, yielding to the wish of the king, elected Baldwin, bishop of Worcester, whose appointment was happily approved of by the suffragan bishops, and of course received the royal assent. As soon as this new metropolitan was installed, he formed a scheme for diminishing the influence of the monks in future elections, by building a college for secular canons at Hackington, within a mile of Canterbury: but the Pope, at once discerning his intention, compelled him to desist from the undertaking. Not to lose the fruits of his expense, he erected the palace of Lambeth, near London, with the timber and materials designed for his new foundation, and the structure has continued from that time, to be the residence of his successors in the primacy.

XXIII. Henry II. a prince whose virtues and vices seem to have been equally constitutional, died in the year 1189, and was succeeded by his son Richard I. In the reign of this prince, as most of the dignified clergy were abroad, few events of consequence in the church history of our country took place.

XXIV. As the primate had exchanged his mitre for a helmet, the bishop of Ely was appointed chancellor, during Richard's absence in Palestine. This deputy was accused by his enemies of pride, prodigality, and oppression, in the discharge of his trust; but the Pontiff espoused his cause, and

saved him from their impending violence. The confusion which prevailed in England at this juncture, suggested to the court of Rome the practicability of making new encroachments; nor was that ever-active and aspiring power remiss in availing itself of the opportunity. It had first obtained the right of judging causes, by sending a legate into the kingdom, and afterwards of hearing them by appeal: it now advanced a step further, and either judged primarily on complaint, or finally determined without summoning the parties concerned.

It falls not properly within our province, to record the romantic events of Richard's history; his wars, his imprisonment, and his ransom. Let it suffice to state, that even in captivity he was remembered with loyalty by a chivalrous people; and as he had sent over a message, recommending Hubert, bishop of Salisbury, who had gone abroad with him, as a fit person to fill the vacant primacy, the monks and bishops suspended their animosity, and agreed in the appointment.

To make amends for the barrenness of church events in this reign, the following characteristic anecdote of the boldness of an ecclesiastic, is not unworthy of being related. In 1191, Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, finding in the chapel of Godstow abbey in Oxfordshire, the tomb of the celebrated Fair Rosamond, hung with black velvet, and lighted with wax tapers, gave peremptory orders

that the corpse should be taken up, and buried in a place of less respect: “for,” said he, “she was a strumpet, and to do honour to her memory, is to relax the force of discipline, and to bring religion into contempt.”—“This,” observes the historian Collier, by whom the fact is recorded, “was done like a primitive bishop; not afraid to censure vice, although under royal protection.”

XXV. The domineering spirit of the Popes, of which Richard had experienced the effects, now rose to a still greater height, when exerted over the indolent and pusillanimous John. In opposition to the royal will, and to the laws of the land, the temporalities of the see of St. David's, while vacant, were bestowed by the Pontiff on Giraldus Cambrensis. Although the court of Rome, in preaching up the holy wars, had been suspected of entertaining some sinister view, the secret had not hitherto been disclosed. It at length appeared, A. D. 1199, in the issuing of a bull, imposing a tax on all the clergy in Christendom, and on those of England amongst the rest, for the support of a new crusade: the first attempt to levy contributions on the states of Europe, without the consent of their sovereigns.

XXVI. In a council held at Westminster in the last year of this century, a canon was established, which is remarkable, as being the origin of vicarages. Prior to this period, appropriation of parish churches had extended to all tithes, small

as well as great ; and the right of patronage over many churches having been transferred to the religious houses, the emoluments were thrown into the general funds, while their members went out to serve their cures in their turns. The canon in question directed, that in all appropriations of tithes to religious houses, a particular minister should be appointed, and provision made for his subsistence. The performer of the duty, and the persons receiving the remuneration for it, being thus separated, an opening was made for ecclesiastical and lay fraternities to claim a great part of the revenues of the church. This has in many places greatly impoverished the parochial clergy, although, perhaps, by interweaving their interests with those of powerful laymen, it has contributed to the security of the ecclesiastical establishment, and of such emoluments as remain to it.

XXVII. Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, dying A. D. 1205, the long-agitated controversy between the monks of that cathedral on the one hand, and the king and provincial prelates on the other, was renewed. Two archbishops were elected by the contending parties, both of whom His Holiness set aside, to make way for Cardinal Langton, a creature of his own, chosen at his command by the deputies of the Canterbury monks, who happened at that juncture to be in Rome. In hopes of reconciling John to this violent usurpation, the Pope sent him over a present of gold

rings, beautifully adorned with precious stones, of which he knew the English monarch to be an admirer; but of which the punning Matthew Paris justly remarks, that they were "*gemmæ commutatae in gemitus*." John, however, not at this time blinded by avarice, penned an indignant remonstrance to His Holiness, who desired him in reply to submit quietly, if he would not be crushed by the vicar of that Person, "before whom all knees in heaven and on earth must bow."

This blasphemous threat was followed by an interdict, A. D. 1208, a measure which could not fail, in a superstitious age, to throw the kingdom into the greatest consternation. The churches were shut up, their altars despoiled, their ornaments scattered on the ground, their bells removed from the steeples; and, except baptizing children, hearing confession, and administering the sacrament to the dying, the clergy were prohibited from performing any of their duties. "*Corpora defunctorum, more canium, in biviiis & fossatis sine oratione aut sacerdotum ministerio sepeliebantur*." This awful suspension of clerical functions prevailed all over the kingdom, except in the dioceses of Winchester and Norwich, whose bishops refused compliance with the unchristian order.

John, nevertheless, worse than Pharaoh, continued to harden his heart during the sufferings of his people; and finding that the bishops, who

had published the interdict, had immediately fled out of the kingdom (like empirics, says a writer, who prudently wait not to observe the effects of their own medicine), he withdrew from them the protection of the laws, ordered their barn-doors to be locked, and took the bishoprics, abbacies, and other church-revenues, into his own custody. In return for this violence, the court of Rome proceeded to thunder out against him the dreaded sentence of excommunication, which was speedily followed by the more formidable decree of deposition, pronounced by Pandulph, the papal legate.

Of this latter decree the execution was committed to Philip, the French monarch ; but while that prince was preparing to invade England, John suddenly made peace with the Pope, by a surrender of his crown and kingdom, to be held as fees of the papacy ; and thus reduced his royal antagonist to the necessity of relinquishing his undertaking. On the return of the bishops, and the arrival of the primate (which had formed part of the stipulation betwixt the king and Pandulph the legate), the humbled John threw himself at their feet, and swore, with tears, that he would revive the constitution and laws of the Confessor, and cherish the ecclesiastical body. The legate, however, setting himself above both, assuming the entire administration of the church, and deciding for the king in an affair relating to pecuniary indemnities, the indignant prelates and abbots, with Langton at their head, joined with

the barons in obtaining from John the celebrated Magna Charta.

In the Great Charter the king was compelled to resign, to the chapters and convents, his claim to the nomination of bishops and abbots, and to grant a freedom of election, reserving only the power of giving a license to elect.

“Promittimus etiam, quod non impediemus, quin in singulis et universis ecclesiis et monasteriis memoratis, postquam vacaverint praelaturæ, quemcunque voluerint, libere sibi præficient electores, pastorem; petitâ tamen prius a nobis et hæredibus nostris licentiâ eligendi, quam non denegabimus *.”

But the Pope having pronounced this charter void, the variance between the king and barons was soon renewed, and continued until the death of the former, A. D. 1215. Fuller asserts, but without proof, that John was poisoned by a monk, and thinks we ought to make allowances, in estimating his character, for the prejudices of monkish historians against him.

XXVIII. By the minority and weakness of Henry III. the Pope was furnished with a new opportunity of rising in his usurpations over this kingdom. Under pretence of levying contributions for supporting the crusades, and for carrying on a war against the Emperor, his legates and nuncios outdid their predecessors, in all the arts

* Matt. Paris. Spelman.

of rapacity and pillage. Their extortions were, on this occasion, chiefly exercised on the clergy, who attempted a feeble resistance of words, by objecting that they could not in conscience pay for the shedding of blood, and that they had been promised, when they resigned their tenths, an exemption from all future demands. As every election for Canterbury was disputed, and occasioned appeals to Rome, new sums of money, and new grants of power, flowed thither in the shape of arguments. In these elections, the interests of the provincial bishops seem to have been entirely neglected; while the strife for superiority was maintained by the Pope and King in opposition to the canons. The Monarch and Pontiff, indeed, were needful auxiliaries to each other: the former (who was surrounded by turbulent and powerful barons), requiring the papal assistance in filling the vacancies with men agreeable to him; and the Pope resting on the royal protection in rifling the English clergy. On one occasion, His Holiness set aside three archbishops who had successively been elected by the convent, and appointed a fourth. The primates, however, when once established, formed, for the most part, some slight barrier to the power of Rome, by the jealousy which they entertained against its legates; and, indeed, we may observe, that the reciprocal dislike and opposite interests of those who occupied these two offices, furnishes an explanation of

several important incidents of this period; particularly of the union of Langton with the barons, in demanding the Magna Charta, which has been already mentioned, as an event of the preceding reign.

We can readily conceive, that the legates, together with their brethren the nuncios, must have been regarded by all orders with that species of affection, which the Jews seem to have borne towards the Roman publicans. A nuncio, it may be observed, differed from a legate, as an envoy did from an ambassador extraordinary; but, though not so ample in his power, say the old writers, "he was to the full as active in his progressing."

XXIX. Besides these usurpations on the clerical body, the papal emissaries invaded the right of private patronage: not less than three hundred Italians, who were either non-resident, or unable to instruct the people in their vernacular tongue, being presented to an equal number of church-preferments, of which the annual value amounted to sixty thousand marks. Mansell, the king's chaplain, is said to have held at once not less than seven hundred ecclesiastical benefices. By means of these grievances, the patience of the barons was at length entirely exhausted: they rose in opposition, and, by a vigorous confederacy, procured the dismissal of the obnoxious legates from the kingdom.

XXX. The firmness and power which thus in-

timidated the king, were, nevertheless, insufficient to repress the ecclesiastical body : who made provision, in the synod of Merton, held A. D. 1258, for securing their privileges and rights from the encroachments of the laity. These encroachments, as they stand enumerated in the constitutions of that synod, were, the calling of ecclesiastics into spiritual courts ; the establishment of clerks in churches without ecclesiastical sanction ; the liberation of excommunicated persons before they had made satisfaction ; a seizure of the teams of the clergy for the use of great men ; the prosecution of clerks on false suggestions ; the violation of sanctuary ; a refusal of proxies to the bishops in law courts ; and the hindering of the clergy from enjoying legacies. Although these constitutions betray a manifest tendency to emancipate the church and its ministers from civil authority, candour cannot fail to admit that they state several substantial grievances.

XXXI. As a counterpoise, however, to this increasing power of the English clergy, Cardinal Othobon, the papal legate (who arrived under pretence of congratulating the king on the recent victory of Evesham), convened a national synod in London, A. D. 1268. This assembly established some useful regulations, several of which are still in force, tending to correct certain glaring abuses that had crept into ecclesiastical practice. By these constitutions, which were not made without much

violent opposition, non-residence and pluralities are condemned; and it is ordered that no person shall enjoy more than one commendam; or even this, if he possesses already more than one living with cure of souls. It is thought, however, that these regulations, ostensibly so disinterested and wise, were really intended to increase the revenues of the Pope, by enabling him to sell dispensations. Other acts of this synod prohibited the abuse of patronage by demanding an annuity from the incumbent, the alienation of tithes from the parochial clergy by religious houses, the receiving of money for sacraments, and the commutation of penance for money. Donative chapels were forbidden to receive emoluments, to the prejudice of the mother church*.

* In the year 1237, Otho, the legate, convened a council, in one canon of which the seven sacraments are mentioned. St. Paul's, which had been rebuilding since the Norman conquest, was consecrated A. D. 1239.

The Dominicans had been settled in this country since the year 1216, and the Franciscans since 1224. The institution of these orders was designed by the Popes as a means of securing their power by the charm of novelty. The Franciscans, by the rule of their order, were not allowed to preach in any diocese without permission from the bishop: an injunction of which they were not long mindful. Both these orders seem to have arrived at great power and credit about the year 1242. Their cloisters were magnificent, and they enjoyed important offices. By a bull obtained from the Pope, the Dominicans were permitted to encroach on the provinces of the parochial clergy; and many persons, who repaired to them for the purpose of confession, being thus freed from the shame

The holding of pluralities is defended in modern times, by pleading that one living affords, in many instances, an inadequate support to the family of a clergyman; as non-residence, in some cases, is excused by maintaining, that a minister is ordained, not to serve a particular parish, but the church of Christ, whose interests will be better provided for by the employment of men of learning in cities, universities, and cathedrals, than by confining these to their respective parishes, where the rustics might learn their duty as well from the humblest curate. It is foreign to our purpose to enter minutely into the discussion of these much-agitated questions: let it suffice to observe, that, in both cases, the instances above mentioned may be regarded as exceptions, for which it may be

of declaring their misdoings to their parochial minister and neighbour, extended widely their latitude in transgression. This encroachment was a breach of the canons of the fourth council of Lateran, which forbade all persons in any parish to call in the aid of a foreign confessor, without leave obtained from their regular pastor. In the year 1246, the Pontiff was obliged to relinquish his claim to the assets of the intestate clergy, which the Franciscans had been accustomed to seize for his use.

Throughout the whole reign of Henry III. Grosted, bishop of Lincoln, acted with the most spirited independence, and bade defiance to both the Pope and the King, constantly refusing to institute foreigners who could speak no English; and affirming, that it was next to the sin of Lucifer or Antichrist, to destroy souls, by receiving the profits of benefices without discharging the duty.

reasonable to make provision ; while the general maxims may remain unimpeached, that one cure of souls is sufficient for a conscientious individual, and that he who receives a portion of the fruits of any district, in consideration of functions to be performed, should there personally instruct the people, and exercise hospitality and benevolence.

XXXII. During the irruptions of the northern nations into the empire of the West, the persons to whom the right of election to bishoprics belonged, were frequently hindered from exercising that right, by the pressure of public calamities : accordingly, that the sees might not continue vacant, the neighbouring prelates supplied them with ecclesiastics of character, as temporary occupants, until canonical appointments could be made. This expedient having been imitated by the bishops and clergy in parochial cures, it proved the origin of COMMENDAMS, which in process of time were abused by the commendatories, who procured vacant benefices to be settled upon themselves, and enjoyed the profits of them for the term of their lives. Against this abuse, the constitution of Othobon was directed ; and “ from hence,” says Warner, “ a prejudice has been taken against the use of this species of pluralities in the present age by the English bishops * . But when it is considered of how

* “ When the parson of a parish is made the bishop of a diocese, there is a cession of his benefice by his promotion ;

small a value several of our sees are now become, and yet how necessary it is that the possessors of such dignities should have a revenue suitable to their character, in order to command authority and respect, it cannot reasonably be thought improper to redress the poverty of a bishopric, by giving a rich benefice, or a considerable dignity, in commendam."

XXXIII. A constitution of Walter, archbishop of York, published in the year 1250, may serve to lay before us the state of the church, in regard to its ceremonies, at this period. It directed, that sacerdotal vestments should be provided at the expense of the people: and further ordered each church to be furnished with a bier; a basin for holy water; a picture for the people to kiss; a candlestick for the paschal taper; an incense-pot; a lantern with a small bell, used in conveying the host to the sick; a veil to screen the altar during Lent; and two candlesticks for the acolythists. The books appointed to be used were the following: 1st, *Legenda*, or lessons, and lives of the saints; 2d, *Antiphonare*, or collection of responses; 3d, *Gradale*, or parts of the mass to be sung; 4th, *Psalterium*, or psalter; 5th, *Troparium*, or sequences not found in the *Gradale*; 6th, *Ordinale*, or rubric book; 7th, *Missale*, missal;

but if the king gives him power to retain his benefice, he shall continue parson thereof, and shall be said to hold it in commendam."—*Burn's Eccles. Law in loco.*

and, 8th, *Manuale*, or book of directions for the administration of all the sacraments. All these books were to be provided by the parishioners, who were moreover enjoined to furnish an altar-piece; three surplices; one rochet and other garments, consisting of copes, chesibles, dalmatics, and tunics, with their appendages of albs, amyts, stoles, maniples, and girdles: besides this ridiculous assortment of trumpery, a pix for the host; a banner for rogation-days; bells with ropes; a font, having a lock; a chrysmatory for the oil, used in baptism and confirmation; and an image of the tutelary saint, to be placed in the chancel. To the lot of the parishioners it likewise fell to repair the body of the church and steeple, as well as the walls of the churchyard: but desks, benches, and other ornaments of the church, were to be furnished, and the chancel and parsonage-house to be repaired, at the expense of the rectors or vicars.

XXXIV. About this period, the dominion of the Pope and of the clergy in England (of which we have carefully marked the progress) had nearly reached its zenith. When we compute the amount of the papal exactions and oppressions, the tax of Peter's pence, now raised to three times the amount of the original grant; the contributions levied on the clergy, in the shape of taxes, or fines for dispensations; the pensions demanded from the churches; the appointment of Italians to benefices, on which, as they performed no sacred func-

tions, they exercised no hospitality, and administered no alms, only drawing the revenues out of the country ; the filling of the highest dignities of the church by the papal power, while the dignitaries paid exorbitant sums for their preferments ; the sums further expended in the course of protracted appeals to Rome, and those sent thither for the purchase of pardons and indulgences ; and when we contemplate these various extortions at a single view, we must wonder how the kingdom was not drained of its wealth, and how its forbearance was not entirely exhausted. If to these oppressions be added the privileges claimed by the clergy at home, their exemption from civil jurisdiction, and their ever-increasing possessions, the necessity for a redress of such complicated evils must be too apparent to require being insisted on.

“ It must be acknowledged, nevertheless,” to quote the words of Mr. Hume, “ that the influence of the prelates and the clergy was often of great service to the public. Though the religion of that age can merit no better name than that of superstition, it served to unite together a body of men, who had great sway over the people, and who kept the community from falling to pieces, by the factious and independent power of the nobles. And what was of great importance, it threw a mighty authority into the hands of men, who by their profession were averse to arms and violence, who tempered by their mediation the ge-

neral disposition towards military enterprises, and who still maintained, even amidst the shock of arms, those secret links, without which it is impossible for human society to subsist*." To these judicious remarks it may be added, that the religion of the time, though debased by superstition, imposed a necessary and powerful restraint on the vindictive and sensual passions of the multitude, at a period when civilization had made small progress, and when criminal law was imperfect, and of little force. Possessed of all the learning of the age, the ecclesiastics were well calculated to occupy situations of trust; and having no families to provide for, and a character of decency to support, they were restrained more than the nobles from acts of avarice and rapacity.

* Hist. Henry III.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE REIGN OF EDWARD I. TO THAT OF
HENRY VIII.

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I. To the authority of the clergy, of which we have seen the exorbitance, in the conclusion of our last chapter, two powerful checks were given in the earliest years of the reign of Edward I.: the one by a statute of Westminster, 1279, enacting that a clerk indicted for felony, should not be delivered to his ordinary, until he had undergone a trial by lawful men; and the other, by the celebrated MORTMAIN act, which prevented new grants of lands or tenements from being made to the church, without the royal license. This latter enactment was at that time a measure of essential service to the kingdom; for although in such alienations the clergy had been bound to the performance of knight's service, the lands bequeathed to them afforded neither wards, reliefs, nor marriages, as they had done when possessed by the laity; so that in proportion as the ecclesiastical body were enriched, the public exchequer was impoverished. Not unaptly, then, were possessions thus falling into unproductive or dead hands, said to come into mortmain. The great evil to be apprehended, in the present state of society, from suffering estates to pass

into mortmain, is the dearness of land which it cannot fail to occasion: the price of land, like that of any other commodity, advancing in proportion to its scarcity in the market.

II. While the laity thus asserted their civil rights, equal efforts of self-deliverance were not made by them in spiritual matters. In a council held at Lambeth, A. D. 1261, it was decreed that the priests should enforce the doctrine of transubstantiation, instructing the more ignorant of the people that what was given them to drink was not the sacrament, but mere wine, to be drank for the purpose of promoting the easy deglutition of the sacrament, which was contained solely in the bread: a plain but very artful prelude to the total exclusion of laymen from the cup*.

* In this synod lay baptism was allowed. The clergy were instructed to preach in plain language every quarter, on the ten commandments, the two precepts of love to God and our neighbour; the seven virtues, seven sins, seven sacraments, seven works of mercy, and fourteen articles of faith. Of the seven virtues, three were theological—faith, hope, and charity; and four cardinal—prudence, temperance, justice, and fortitude. The seven deadly sins were stated to be—pride, envy, anger, hatred, irreligion, covetousness, and epicurism. It is well known that the sacraments were—baptism, the eucharist, confirmation, orders, penance, matrimony, and extreme unction. Of the works of mercy, six are to be found in St. Matthew, chap. xxv. namely—giving appropriate relief to the hungry, thirsty, and naked; the stranger, the sick man, and the prisoner: while the seventh is founded on Tobit, ii. 7;

III. On the king's demanding a fifth part of all the moveables of the clergy, that body sheltering themselves beneath a bull of Pope Boniface's, took courage to deny the right of the crown to tax them: when Edward, perceiving that he must now establish the claim, or consent to relinquish it for ever, plainly told them that they should receive no protection from a government which they would not assist in supporting; and on his following up his threat with an order for the seizure of their lay-fees, and for depriving them of the benefit of the laws, they found themselves obliged to submit. They were less obsequious, however, towards the superiors of religious orders abroad, who were prohibited from taxing the abbots and monks acknowledging their respective rules in England; or even towards the Pontiff, whose demand of the annates, or first year's fruits of each preferment, which had been enjoyed since the twelfth century by the bishops in their respective jurisdictions, was boldly and strenuously resisted. The opposition, it is true, in the end, proved ineffectual; and in this instance, as in others, the wealth of England disappeared, like the river Alpheus, from the country where it flowed, and rose

namely, digging a grave for those who have had no sepulture. Of the fourteen articles of faith, five related to the Trinity, seven to the incarnation of Christ, one to resurrection, and one to sanctification.—*Collier*, vol. i.

again in the Roman territories. We are to attribute this new triumph of the Roman pontiff to the king's occasion for his friendship. Throughout the whole of this period, indeed, we cannot fail to observe the eagerness with which the papal authority was acknowledged by the king or clergy, when it was found necessary to strengthen either party against its antagonist; and the extreme facility with which the same power was disclaimed whenever submission to it ceased to be convenient. On the whole, however, Edward I. gave a considerable check to the papal usurpations*.

IV. The Jews were expelled from England, in the year 1290. Of this body of men the systematic avarice is said to be occasioned by their misinterpretation of Deut. xxiii. 20: "Unto a

* Towards the conclusion of the thirteenth, and beginning of the fourteenth century, flourished the chief schoolmen, Hale, Roger Bacon, Duns Scotus, and others, who mostly belonged to Merton College in Oxford. "They employed themselves," says an old historian, "in prying into things mystical that might not, difficult that could not, and curious that need not, be known. Meanwhile the Cambridge theologians were engaged in positive divinity, which though not so noisy as that which is controversial, redounds more to the glory of God, and the salvation of men. The scholastic theology died away in the subsequent reigns, by reason of the wars of York and Lancaster; the unprofitableness of the studies themselves; their being worn threadbare; and a change in the taste of the university."

Peckham and Winchelsey were the primates during the chief part of this reign: both men of firmness, learning, and integrity.

stranger thou mayest lend upon usury." Their immense wealth in all ages and countries is easily explained, by recollecting their double secret of rapacity and parsimony. How far their degradation in moral character may depend on the contempt in which they have been held, and the oppressions to which they have been subjected, might probably be an interesting subject of inquiry. Certain it is, that any man, who, attending to the accounts of their sufferings, as detailed by the early English historians, should expect that in such circumstances they would exhibit bright examples of liberality or beneficence, must look for an effect which less sanguine minds could hardly have hoped to see exhibited even by Christians in a like situation. Shylock, as drawn by our immortal bard, is a character formed, not by Judaism, but by persecution: and in this respect, as in all others, Shakespere is true to nature:

" Shall I bend low, and in a bondman's key
Say this: ' Fair Sir, you spit on me last Wednesday;
' You spurn'd me such a day; another time
' You call'd me dog; and for these courtesies
' I'll lend you thus much monies?' "

If we look back to the present, and several preceding reigns, we shall find the historians giving similar accounts of the various indignities and sufferings endured by this truly miserable race of outcasts.

" They were equally unhappy at feasts and

frays : for when the Christians made entertainments at revels, the Jews paid the reckoning ; and whenever any brawle began in London, it ended in the Old Jewry, with pillaging the people therein." At the coronation of Richard I. and in the seventeenth year of John's reign, the treatment they experienced is well known. We may add, that Henry III. permitted them to build a synagogue, and as soon as it was completed, forced them to dedicate it to the Virgin Mary. To so many and various insults and oppressions, Edward added that of pillage and banishment. From these evils, the unhappy children of Abraham could find only two means of escape: the payment of large sums of money, and submission to the rite of baptism. We need not wonder that many of them should have preferred the latter exemption : or doubt, that numbers who received the sign of conversion, were still Jews inwardly, " though not in the manner recommended by St. Paul."

V. *Edward II.*—Few ecclesiastical events of any consequence occurred during the reign of the weak and unfortunate Edward II. Papal rapacity discovered a new source of wealth in the sale of provisions, or reversionary grants of livings, disposed of, provisionally, before they became vacant. Edward, however, put one slight check to the encroachments of the Pontiff, by prohibiting obedience to any citations of the clergy to Rome,

for the purpose of proving their right to preferments granted by the king *.

VI. With a view to terminate the differences subsisting betwixt the ecclesiastical and civil courts, concerning the limits of their respective jurisdictions, which had been a subject of contention ever since the time of the Conqueror, the clergy obtained a statute, entitled, *Articuli Cleri*, A. D. 1316, investing them with the privilege of exemption from lay trial. This statute, which was a confirmation of an act passed in the late reign, and denominated, “*Circumspectè agatis*,” from its caution to the civil judges, was soon pleaded with success by the bishop of Hereford, who had been accused of high treason in joining the party of the queen. His disloyalty had been carried to the shameful excess of preaching a sermon before her majesty at Oxford, from the inapplicable text, “*My head, my head*,” in which, perverting the words of Scripture, he endeavoured to prove, that decapitation was the only proper treatment

* In this reign the Knights Templars were persecuted in England, as in other European countries. Their vices were indeed great, and in some measure, it must be owned, justified the severity with which they were treated; though, after all, their immense wealth was perhaps, in the eye of their persecutors, their greatest crime.

Edward II. founded Oriel College in Oxford. Of this word the origin is uncertain; being, with little probability, derived by some from *Oriolium*, an apartment in a monastery.

of a monarch of feeble intellect. His ambiguous maxim, “*Edvardum occidere nolite timere bonum est*,” is a saying worthy of the Pythia: but his real meaning was explained by his conduct, and his wishes too faithfully gratified. It is to the credit of the bench that this bishop and that of Lincoln were the only prelates who deserted their royal master in his misfortunes: nor must we regard the defection of this latter ecclesiastic, if an anecdote which has been transmitted may serve to illustrate his character, as any reproach to his sovereign. Having taken in the lands of several poor persons, for the purpose of completing his park at Tinghurst, he is said to have asked his bailiff, what would be the cost of railings: to which the punning dependant sarcastically replied, “Let not your Lordship be troubled with that concern; the country will furnish railings*.”

The provincial clergy, having been summoned to parliament by the bishops at the command of the king, refused to yield obedience to an order not sanctioned by the highest ecclesiastical authority. Accordingly the primate was prevailed on to repeat the mandate, which in subsequent reigns was sometimes issued in the provinces, and sometimes in the dioceses. The expected supply of a tenth, however, was obtained from the clerical body, in

* Fuller.

provincial councils: and it was in return for this aid that the statute entitled *Articuli Cleri*, was passed. Hereafter it was the usage for the clergy of each province to tax their own spiritualities in convocation; while their lay estates were subjected to that general taxation which their bishops assisted in imposing, when assembled in the national council.

VII. There still continued three separate claimants to the privilege of filling every vacancy of a see, the king, the convent, and the pope: to whom, in the case of the primacy, the provincial bishops may be added as a fourth. But as these last were too feeble to support their pretensions, the dispute usually lay in the first instance between the king and the convent: and an appeal to Rome being made by the weaker party, the Pontiff in his usual style settled the matter, by setting both the candidates aside, and preferring a friend of his own.

VIII. A few heterodox opinions, advanced by several students in Oxford, were condemned, A. D. 1314. They relate to the possibility of the Father's creating the universe without the aid of the eternal and omnipotent Word; and were perhaps a faint and timid whisper of Arianism: but being evidently derived from the metaphysical inquiries then in vogue, they are scarcely, if at all, intelligible.

IX. *Edward III.*—The reign of Edward III.

is much more distinguished by military achievements than by ecclesiastical transactions. A destructive pestilence, about the year 1349, swept away such numbers of the clergy, that, according to Knyghton, although prior to this calamity a curate might have been engaged for four or five marks yearly; or for two marks and his board: it was hardly possible, subsequent to its ravages, to find a clergyman who would accept even of a vicarage of twenty marks or twenty pounds a year. During this mortality, the Charter-house in London, including a space of fifteen acres, was founded by Sir Walter Manny as a burying-place, and given to the Carthusian friars. As the inferior clergy took occasion from this juncture to place an exorbitant value on their services, a constitution of Archbishop Islep prohibited them from demanding, and their employers from giving, more than one mark a year, above what had been their customary salary before the pestilence.

X. The influence of Rome was still powerful in England, though submitted to with the utmost impatience, and not till after many spirited remonstrances. In one of these it is stated by the king, that his predecessors having endowed the cathedrals, had formerly nominated to the vacant sees; and afterwards deputed to the chapters the liberty of electing their respective bishops, though not without the royal license to proceed to each election, and

approbation of the prelate elect *. These expostulations proving fruitless, the king convoked a parliament, which enacted the *Statute of Provisors*; an act prohibiting the procuration of reservations or provisions (reversionary grants of benefices) from the Pope, to the disturbance of free elections, or in disparagement of the royal presentations. This act was followed by the statute of *Premunire*, A. D. 1390, against carrying appeals to Rome; but neither of these marks of public indignation sufficed to terminate the mischiefs derived from the connexion of England with the papal power.

In the year 1360, no less than seven vacant sees were filled by means of provisions. Nor do the spiritual interests of the church appear to have been much consulted by His Holiness in his several appointments; at least if we may judge from the following barbarous verses made on his translation of a bishop of Ely to Canterbury:

Exultant cœli, quod Simon transit ab Eli,
Ad cujus adventum, flect in Kent millia centum.

The Pope having demanded the yearly tribute of one thousand marks, which King John had stipulated that he and his successors should pay, the parliament not only refused compliance, but ordered a

* This, however, was not the original mode of nomination in the earlier Saxon periods.

cessation of the collection of Peter's pence. This latter resolution, it was however found, could only be enforced for a short time: and till the twenty-fifth year of Henry VIII. the Peter's pence continued to be sent to Rome.

Before the passing of the statute of Premunire, the two archbishops of Canterbury and York possessed the power of assembling their clergy in convocation, independently of the monarch's permission. No convocations, after that period, were summoned, without the royal license: yet the acts of these assemblies, as soon as passed, were binding without receiving confirmation from the sovereign; and they retained this authority, down to the passing of the act of supremacy, in the reign of Henry VIII. *

XI. Neither the rights nor the interests of the clergy seem to have been forgotten in the reign of the third Edward. Military pursuits engrossing the minds of the nobility, we find all the principal law situations occupied by ecclesiastical dignitaries. Long and violent disputes took place betwixt the king and Archbishop Stratford, relative to the aids contributed by the clerical order, towards the carrying on of the continental wars. On a review of these it fully appears, that the primate was injured by his royal master, whom he had served with integrity and fidelity: protecting indeed his sacred brethren from extor-

* Neale, vol. i.

tion, though not screening them from reasonable assessment. Probably with some view of promoting this latter object, a survey of the glebe-lands in each parish was at this time made, and deposited in the exchequer: where it still remains a valuable record, although the account of some of the dioceses, having been written with bad ink, have long since faded away; and even before Fuller wrote his History, had become altogether invisible.

XII. The disputes respecting the primacy were settled in favour of Canterbury, by the concurrent declarations of the King and Pope. On an appeal from Durham the regalities of its bishopric were acknowledged by the king and parliament. In the apprehension of an invasion, all the clergy were ordered by royal proclamation, and with consent of the bishops, to take up arms, A. D. 1368. Several councils were held in this reign; but their acts have for the most part ceased to be interesting. In that of Mayfield, 1332, we find an enumeration of the several festivals which the church was commanded to celebrate. In addition to all those at present observed, there are two in commemoration of Becket; and two relative to the cross; both, for obvious reasons, expunged at the Reformation*.

* Queen's College in Oxford was founded in the reign of Edward III. by Eaglesfield, chaplain to Queen Philippa. Here Edward the Black Prince and Henry V. received their education.

Twenty thousand marks were still drawn out of the country, yearly, by beneficed and non-resident foreigners, exclusive of sums collected for the use of the Pope.

XIII. *Richard II.*—The first attempt to shake off the superstitions of these times, was made in the latter part of Edward's reign, but more particularly during the early years of his successor, by the celebrated John Wickliffe, the morning star of the Reformation, whose learning and worth had procured for him, from Archbishop Islep, an appointment to the wardenship of the college of Canterbury, in Oxford, A. D. 1365. Here, both his weekly lectures in divinity, and his sabbath exhortations from the pulpit, were distinguished by the severity with which he inveighed against the clergy, and particularly against the mendicant friars. These varied professional labours were experienced to be mutually serviceable to each other: since by proving to the learned what he designed to preach, and preaching to the poor what he had previously made the subject of academical prelection, he at once rendered his disputations perspicuous, and his sermons argumentative and powerful. Nor was the juncture of affairs unfavourable to the propagation of his doctrines. His opposition to the haughty papal demand of homage and tribute for the kingdom of England, had obtained for him at an early period, the favour of Edward: and the subsequent dotage of that monarch, the minority

and weakness of Richard II. the Duke of Lancaster's power, and hatred of the clergy, and finally the general odium which prevailed against the Pope, may be assigned as causes of the favourable reception with which the new tenets were hailed. Wickliffe, having been sent on an embassy to the court of Rome, discovered there so many corruptions and errors, that the language of his declamations rose in its tone : and while he dwelt, on his return, with animation and force on the tyranny and extortions of the Roman power, he scrupled not to term the Pope Antichrist, and boldly to deny his supremacy. By such freedom and violence, he involved himself in many calamities. In particular, a bull, issued A. D. 1377, commanded that he should be brought to trial for his damnable heresies. From this threatened severity Wickliffe found protection in the general esteem of the English people, and more especially in the countenance of two very powerful patrons : John of Gaunt (already mentioned as Duke of Lancaster), and Lord Henry Percy. These noblemen, when the bishops were convened at Lambeth in obedience to the papal bull, obtained a mandate for a cessation of proceedings against their favourite, who was only enjoined to preserve silence for the future.

Many of the doctrines advanced by this illustrious champion of the truth were not different from those propagated, with more success, in the sixteenth century : but the cloud was too thick, at

the period before us, to be penetrated by a solitary ray of illumination. He asserted that Peter had no more authority than any of the other Apostles, and that the Pope was not the head of the church. He condemned the vast multiplicity of ceremonies practised in the Catholic church; and he affirmed that the celibacy and inutility of a monastic life must be rather displeasing than acceptable to God.

But as no human system is perfect, and as it is difficult for ardent zeal to step, in all respects, within the bounds of moderation, several extravagant and erroneous opinions seem to have been mingled with these judicious doctrines. Wickliffe held that no difference was observed in the primitive church betwixt a bishop and a presbyter. He maintained the doctrine of consubstantiation; that is to say, he believed that the eucharist, after being consecrated, was "*verus panis, et verum corpus Christi.*" He thought that the Deity was bound by a kind of Stoical fate; and could not have created the universe otherwise than he has done. He was also of opinion, that although there is a distinction betwixt mortal and venial sins, it depends, not on the nature of different offences, or the comparative depravity of the will, but on the election or reprobation of the offending party. Not content with refusing to ordination and matrimony the title of sacraments, he even denied that they were necessary, as ecclesiastical ceremonies. He taught

that a bad priest lost the sacerdotal character ; and that any sacred function performed by him was not effectually performed, with reference to the parties to whom it was administered : that all right to church property ceased when an ecclesiastic lived in any immorality ; and that tithes were alms, which the people ought to withhold from an unrighteous and undeserving minister. These several opinions will more properly fall under consideration in subsequent parts of our work : in the mean time we cannot help making one remark on the dangerous tendency of the latter two of them as practical maxims ; for if it were left to every individual among the people to judge of that degree of immorality, which should destroy the efficacy of the sacerdotal functions, or justify a spoliation of ecclesiastical property, who does not perceive the bias, which self-interest would produce, and which would incline every ill-disposed mind to construe in a pastor's conduct the failings of infirmity into highly criminal offences ; or an occasional trespass, into a proof of habitual depravity ? It must be acknowledged, that the reformer's own papers having been destroyed, these errors are ascribed to him, principally on the testimony of his enemies, who would no doubt overcharge, and probably misrepresent, many of his real opinions.

To his doctrine, that " dominion is founded in grace," these opponents have attributed the insurrection of Wat Tyler and Jack Straw, which seems

to have been entirely unconnected with religion : unless perhaps with the seditious preaching of Ball, who circulated amongst the common people the celebrated couplet,

When Adam delv'd and Eve span,

Where was then the gentleman?

With more probability is Wickliffe's virulent opposition to celibacy traced to his removal from the wardenship of Canterbury college, on the ground of his being disqualified by matrimony from holding that situation.

XIV. A council held in London, A. D. 1382, for the purpose of examining twenty-four opinions, selected by Archbishop Courtney from the writings of Wickliffe, pronounced ten of them to be heretical, and the remaining fourteen, erroneous. Notwithstanding these denunciations, however, his doctrines found several zealous advocates at Oxford. His chief supporters in that university, Doctors Hereford and Rapyngdon, and Mr. Ayshton, Master of Arts, were brought before the same council, and called upon for a declaration of their principles. On making evasive answers, they were pronounced to be convicted of heresy : but in the sequel, intimidated by further persecution, they severally made submission ; promising to desist from preaching their opinions, although they could not be prevailed on formally to recant them.

As to most schemes of salutary reform, the lukewarmness of wise but timid well-wishers has not proved so detrimental as the rash activity of ignorant and intemperate advocates, the cause of Wickliffe received inferior injury from the vacillation and defection of these learned ecclesiastics, than from the indiscreet zeal of his less respectable followers. William Smith, a low mechanic, having been crossed in love, and finding himself indisposed for regular industry, learned his alphabet, and turned preacher. It was also the misfortune of Wickliffe to number amongst his friends a similar character, whose name was Swyndurby. This orator commenced his career at Leicester, by declaiming against the immodesty of female apparel ; but the women of the place, not relishing his heresy, rose in an indignant body, and stoned him out of the town. Instead, however, of shaking off the dust of his feet against his fair persecutors, the apostle Swyndurby returned to the ungrateful multitude : and being determined, like Demosthenes, to profit by his experience, and to make another attempt at popularity, he forbore to touch the string which had produced so harsh a discord ; instead of which, he now delivered a vehement declamation against the clergy. His former offences were instantly forgotten, and he was received into universal favour : nor is it to be doubted, as he promised his followers a sort of dispensation from the duty of paying tithes, that he

was attended by a numerous and zealous body of hearers.

With respect to Wickliffe himself, being compelled by bodily ailment to relinquish the field of active disputation, he employed the two last years of his life, at his living of Lutterworth in Leicestershire, in finishing his translation of the sacred volume, and in composing several other works *. His death, which happened A. D. 1384, in consequence of a paralytic stroke, was ascribed by the clergy to the immediate vengeance of Heaven, on account of his heresy and impiety : and although he had been quietly suffered to live and die without martyrdom or even imprisonment, his ashes were taken up many years afterwards, and cast into the Swift, a neighbouring brook : from which rivulet, says an ecclesiastical writer, “ successively conveyed to the Avon, the Severn, and the ocean, they exhibited a lively emblem of the gradual, and, finally, general diffusion of his doctrines.”

XV. These doctrines being destined to survive him, were first spread abroad with great ardour and success by his disciples, so well known under the denomination of LOLLARDS. Of this word the etymology is uncertain : some deriving it from lolium, a weed ; “ quasi lolium in arâ Domini ;”

* His Bible has been lately published, by Mr. Baber, of the British Museum.

others from the German “ lullen,” to sing or cant ; while a third party ascribe its origin, with greater probability, to Walter Lollard, who had been burnt at Cologne, for heresy, A. D. 1315. Patronised by individuals of high rank and power, and much admired by the populace, the Lollard preachers * became formidable to the clergy ; who preferring the strong and effective arm of persecution to the doubtful weapon of argument, procured a statute, by which all sheriffs were enjoined to imprison the preachers of heresy. But, partly owing to the general good will with which the cause of reform was regarded ; and partly to the reluctance which the immediate followers of Wickliffe manifested, towards wearing the crown of martyrdom, the law was but faintly executed. Nor were the doctrines of Wickliffe confined, even thus early, within the limits of his native land : a Bohemian gentleman who had studied, in the reign of Richard, at Oxford, having carried them into his own country, where they soon obtained celebrity under the preaching of Huss, and the military prowess of Zisca †.

XVI. In the early part of this reign, A. D. 1379, an act was passed finally prohibiting any foreigner from holding an ecclesiastical benefice in England: a wise and just measure, as these

* In their sermons, they called the Lady of Lincoln the witch of Lincoln.—*Fuller*.

† *Fuller*.

strangers, we may once more remark, had exercised no hospitality on their parishes; and were unable to instruct the people in their native tongue. The statute of Premunire was also confirmed, A. D. 1392. This measure finally put a stop to the nomination of English bishops by the Roman court; which the former statute had not been able to effect: and soon after a nuncio who arrived from Rome in order to obtain a revocation of both these acts, though received with much civility, was baffled on the subject of his application. The parliament, in granting a subsidy to the king, having stipulated that the clergy should pay in proportion, the condition was strongly opposed by that body, as an infringement of their privilege of taxing themselves in convocation; where, as soon as the pretext was allowed to be reasonable, they voted the stipulated sum.

On the whole, there appears to have been, in the present reign, a sensible decay of the power of Rome, and a general desire on the part of the laity, to deliver themselves from its imperious bondage.

“It was usual for the church,” says the civil historian of England, “that they might elude the mortmain act, to make their votaries leave lands in trust to certain persons, under whose name the clergy enjoyed the benefit of the bequest: the parliament also stopped the progress of this abuse. In the seventeenth of the king the commons prayed, ‘That remedy might be had against such

‘ religious persons, as cause their villains to marry
‘ free women inheritable, whereby the estate
‘ comes to those religious hands by collusion *.’ ”

XVII. *Henry IV.*—In order to give countenance to a title to the crown, which would not bear too close an examination, Henry IV. though formerly inclined to the Lollard principles, found it expedient on his accession to conciliate the ecclesiastical body. For this purpose, he promised to support them in their immunities, and to aid them in the extermination of heresy ; adding an assurance, that he demanded nothing but their prayers, and that he would never, unless in cases of urgent necessity, call upon them for pecuniary assistance. This latter promise, indeed, he speedily forgot ; but the history of his reign will amply show, that his determination to suppress heresy, was too faithfully observed. A law was passed against the Lollards A. D. 1400, enabling the bishops to detain persons suspected of heresy, who on proof of their guilt, and on their refusal to abjure their principles, might be delivered over to the secular arm, and publicly consigned to the stake. This merciless act was immediately put in execution by the burning of Sir William Sautrè, rector of St. Oswyth’s, in London ; who, though willing to recant some part of his tenets, had steadfastly refused assent to the doctrine of transubstantia-

* Hume, Richard II.

tion. As Alban had been the first martyr in our island, to the cause of Christianity, Sautrè had the honour of first suffering for the aim of restoring that holy religion to its purity : and it will ever remain a blot on the memory of Henry IV. that he was the English king, who (in the language of Fox) “ began the merciful burning of Christ’s saints.” The persecution, thus commenced, can be justified by no plea : it is equally at variance with the spirit of Christianity, and with the maxims of the holy fathers : but our Saviour’s “ Put up thy sword into its place,” had not been forgotten when Tertullian wrote, “ Non est religionis, religionem cogere.”

XVIII. Dismayed by the event of Sautrè’s execution, many followers of Wickliffe were induced to conceal their opinions, in order to preserve their lives. William Thorp, however, a learned ecclesiastic, boldly promulgated his belief ; and consequently, after enduring much persecution, was cast into a loathsome prison at Saltwood, where he is generally supposed to have died. However extensive may have been this man’s erudition, we cannot, on impartially reviewing his conduct, give him equal credit for sound judgment. He does not appear to have established in his mind any wise principles of temperate reform : for he stirred up the people to reduce the clergy to a state not better than beggary ; he denied that the eucharist had any efficacy, if consecrated by an

immoral priest : and when called on to take an oath upon the four Gospels, he even went the daring length of affirming, that the Gospel of God was not contained in the letter which was then put into his hand, but resided in the heart of every man. The only other martyrdom in the reign of Henry IV. was that of Thomas Badby, a tailor or blacksmith, belonging to the diocese of Worcester, who was burnt at Smithfield, A. D. 1410, for the Lollard opinion respecting the eucharist, declared in the strong expression, “ that a priest could not make Christ.”

XIX. In the former reign, the bishops had obtained a general license to imprison heretics, without an order from the crown ; but this grant having been revoked at the request of the commons, the king issued a particular permission to exercise the same authority, whenever application was made to him. As the Lollard party, however, became more formidable, the bishops now petitioned for still ampler powers : with which they were invested by the celebrated act *, declaring, that the diocesan alone, without the intervention of a synod, might convict of heretical tenets ; and that unless the convicted person abjured his opinions, or if after abjuration he relapsed, the sheriff was bound, *ex officio*, if required by the bishop, to commit the unhappy victim to the flames. Besides being

* Blackstone, vol. iv. p. 47. Warner, p. 523.

subjected to this violent mode of proceeding, the Lollard principles were combated by the constitutions of Archbishop Arundel, by a decree of twelve learned men, whom the university of Oxford had deputed to examine them, and by the damnatory sentence of the Pope. Finally, to strengthen such measures of intimidation, the no less powerful force of obloquy was employed: the meetings of the Wickliffites, by themselves denominated schools, being called by their enemies, in derision, conventicles *.

So many individuals were still interested in countenancing the papal encroachment on the rights of patrons, that it was found necessary, A.D. 1404, to revive and enlarge the two statutes of Provisors and Premunire: and as Henry was inclined to favour the clergy, who were interested in the violation of these laws, another act was passed, in support of the former, barring the crown from granting licenses to violate them †.

XX. *Henry V.*—We have purposely abstained from swelling our pages with the biography of English primates, farther than in mentioning any parts of their conduct, which happened to be connected with the great chain of events. It is well known, that, prior to the time of Henry VIII. their influence was far more powerful and efficacious,

* An act was passed in the early part of this reign to prevent excessive first fruits and tithes from being paid to Rome.

† Collier.

than in the reigns which have followed that remarkable epoch. On the accession of the fifth Henry, A. D. 1413, the metropolitan chair was occupied by Archbishop Arundel, a Nestor, who, in possession of that high situation, had now seen three successive monarchs on the throne. As during so considerable a portion of English history he acted a conspicuous part, it was very unfortunate for the times in which he lived, that his character was marked by an intemperate and unchristian zeal. Richard II. it is true, had behaved towards him with perfidy, on his trial as one of the commissioners appointed for managing public affairs in that monarch's minority, in permitting him to be banished, agreeably to his sentence, after having pledged his word to indemnify him, on condition of his making no defence. But this injury, although it may explain, will by no means excuse his subsequent zeal in instigating the Duke of Lancaster to take arms against his sovereign; much less his indecent abuse of Scripture, in vindicating the title of that usurper. The perversion of inapplicable texts indeed to the purposes of a political party, is an evil which has prevailed to too great an extent in all ages of the Christian church: but if we except the celebrated *Nunc dimittis*, applied to the worst æra of the French revolution, never, perhaps, occurred a more censurable instance of it, than in the sermon here alluded to, which was preached from the fol-

lowing text (1 Sam. ix. 17): "And when Samuel saw Saul, the Lord said unto him, Behold the man whom I spake to thee of: this same shall reign over my people." Admitting the deposition of Richard to have been expedient, Henry IV. was not the legal heir to the throne: and let us remember, that it was by the title of hereditary right, and not by that of free election, that he laid claim to it.

But the most reprehensible part of Arundel's conduct was his relentless and sanguinary persecution of the Lollard party. On sending to Rome the Oxford decree, mentioned in our account of the late reign, he solicited the Pope's permission to draw the body of Wickliffe from the grave, and to cast it on a dunghill, "that all Christians might trample on it:" a request, it is true, with which the Pontiff refused compliance, either from greater humanity of disposition, or from a prudent dread, lest the measure should prove too harsh for the apostatizing temper of the times.

XXI. Having contemplated these slight sketches of the metropolitan's character, the reader will not perhaps be surprised to find, that, securing the favour of the new monarch, he proceeded to attack Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, the head of the Lollard party, with a view of intimidating all the inferior members. Oldcastle was summoned to appear before the convocation; but, disregarding three successive calls, he was excom-

municated, apprehended, and imprisoned in the Tower of London. Being brought from thence before the primate and several bishops, he read a paper, containing the substance of his belief, in which transubstantiation, penance, confession, image-worship, and pilgrimages, were all decidedly condemned. Steadfastly refusing to renounce these opinions, he was delivered over to the secular arm; but his execution being delayed on account of its unpopularity, he escaped from the Tower, and fled into Wales, where for several years he lurked undiscovered, and wandered in continual alarm. Immediately after his escape, A. D. 1415, a proclamation had been issued, offering a reward for his apprehension, which was at length, A. D. 1418, facilitated, by a fracture in his leg, received from the blow of a footstool which a woman had cast after him, while in the act of flying from her cottage. The unfortunate nobleman was seized, and carried to Westminster for trial, and, after being there condemned, was strangled, and burnt at Tyburn. On hearing the news of their leader's destruction, the Lollards, now numerous in all parts of the kingdom, were struck, as was expected, with dismay. Hence the severe laws, framed against them, were not in many instances put in execution; most of them preferring a recantation, or, at least, a concealment of their opinions, to the utility and glory of martyrdom. A few individuals, however, did not

shrink from the fiery trial of their principles : the chief of whom were Claydon, a furrier ; and Taylor, White, Waddon, and father Abraham, priests. In the laws enacted against the Lollards, it was decreed, that they should be arrested by the sheriffs, and tried in the bishops' courts. It may, at first view, seem singular, that these persecuting statutes should have been framed by a parliament containing many members, who were well known to be secretly inclined to most of the religious innovations which they condemned. But the fact will be easily explained by recollecting, that the grand object of the commons at the present period, was the shifting of the public burdens upon the estates of the clergy : to the accomplishment of which end, it was necessary that they should seem, at least, to repel the charge of heresy brought against them by that body, who had thus rendered the sovereign suspicious of their designs, and warded off the execution of their financial proposals. Nor in fact was the scheme entirely fruitless : for Henry V. convinced that his commons had been calumniated, and were no heretics, was on the point of seizing the ecclesiastical estates, when the archbishop diverted the rising storm by persuading the young and enterprising monarch to undertake a continental war ; for the prosecution of which he tendered him a grant of the alien priories. These were religious houses dependent on abbeys in Normandy, having been bequeathed to them

when that province remained united to England.

The war was undertaken, and the compromise accepted: the clergy having thus wisely sacrificed part of their possessions, in the hopes of preserving the rest.

XXIII. Chicheley, recently translated from St. David's, was the primate who had negotiated the above-mentioned transaction. In the circumstances of his election to the archiepiscopal chair, it is curious to observe the extent of the papal influence: still powerful, but beginning to totter; and acting with all the timid caution of conscious instability. In the reigns of the latter Saxon princes, the bishops, as we have seen, were elected by the chapters; and after a short interruption under the Norman line, this mode of appointment was confirmed by the charter of King John. Chicheley, agreeably to this custom, was regularly nominated by the prior and monks of Canterbury, after they had applied for the king's *congé d'élire*: but the Pope, disregarding the late acts of parliament, set aside this election made by the canons, as an encroachment on his right of appointing to the primacy. Afraid, nevertheless, lest his privilege should be disputed, he nominated Chicheley immediately after he had deposed him. The primate, as soon as he had received the pall, took an oath of canonical obedience to the Pope, which would have rendered him a most dangerous subject, had it been observ-

ed; but soon after, when his temporalities were restored to him, he wholly effaced it by a new oath to the King, wherein he renounced all such engagements made with the Pope, as clashed with the royal prerogative.

XXIV. Thus, on the whole, the papal authority was rapidly declining; and its dissolution was hastened by the disputes subsisting at this period, betwixt contending claimants for the chair of St. Peter; each of whom was afraid of making encroachments on the rights of princes, which might lead them to seek more favourable terms from his competitor. The grievance of provisions indeed still subsisted; and we find that Martin V. elected no less than thirteen bishops in the province of Canterbury within the space of two years: but the spirited king of England forced the successor of St. Peter to accede to a "Concordat," which abridged him of much of his power. Henry also renewed the statute of provisors, and, on the strength of it, refused to acknowledge as valid, a papal translation of the bishop of Lincoln * to the see of York.

"In this reign," says Mr. Hume, "common

* It was this disappointed prelate, Fleming, who built Lincoln College, in Oxford. Here the church historian Fuller passed, on some occasion, seventeen weeks; and he declares that he spent more money in that time, than he had done, during a residence of as many years in Cambridge.

sense and obvious reflection had discovered to the people the advantages of a reformation in discipline: but the age was not yet so far advanced as to be seized with the spirit of controversy, or to enter into those abstruse doctrines which the Lollards endeavoured to propagate throughout the kingdom. The very notion of heresy alarmed the generality of the people: innovation in fundamental principles was suspicious: curiosity was not as yet a sufficient counterpoise to authority; and even many, who were the greatest friends to the reformation of abuses, were anxious to express their detestation of the speculative tenets of the Wickliffites, which, they feared, threw disgrace on so good a cause."

XXV. Henry VI.—In the protector's privy council, during the minority of Henry VI. we find the names of six bishops; to whose influence it was most probably owing, that the persecution of heresy was now revived. The first object of notice was one Russel, a minorite, A. D. 1425; who had preached against the claim of tithes as a divine right, affirming, that wherever there was no custom to the contrary, it was lawful to pay them to the poor. To avoid the evils which he had reason to apprehend, from zeal sharpened by interest, this person prudently made his escape out of the kingdom; leaving the clerical body to wreak their vengeance on his doctrines, which they did in a

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solemn censure passed in convocation, accompanied by decrees to the same effect, procured from both the universities.

A more eminent publisher of new opinions was Reginald Pococke, bishop of Chichester; who in the latter end of Henry's reign, or long minority, was, A. D. 1457, deprived of his see, and condemned to perpetual retirement, if not to imprisonment, for having asserted that Christians are not bound to believe in the descent into hell, the holy Catholic church, the communion of saints, transubstantiation, the infallibility of the universal church, and the authority of councils. From this strange mixture of truth and error, it appears, that the doctrines of reformation were not yet properly digested: a circumstance to which, perhaps, their slow progress may in no small degree be ascribed. It is natural to suppose that many, who secretly assented to portions of the new system, were deterred from openly embracing it, by their dislike of other parts. Its complete triumph over superstition was reserved for a period, when it was adopted by men of temperate piety and mature judgment; whose inquiries and opposition were directed by a sincere love of truth, which taught them to discern with accuracy, betwixt what ought to be rejected as corrupt or faulty, and what retained as sound or expedient. Pococke appears, indeed, to have been a man of intemperate disposition and vulgar mind: he termed "preaching, bawl-

ing in the pulpit," and denied that it was any part of the duty of a bishop. By his harangues, he so violently inflamed the mob, that they murdered the two prelates of Salisbury and Winchester. His heterodox opinions respecting the Trinity were couched in the following lines:

Wit hath wonder, that reason cannot scan,
How a moder is a mayd, and God is man.

To which Gascoigne, a brother prelate, replied,

Leve reason; beleve the wonder;
Belef hath mastery; reason is under.

XXVI. But though the doctrines of reformation, thus imperfectly arranged, did not make any very rapid advances, the power of the Popes continued to decline. During the schisms in the papacy, the English church had been permitted to proceed, with little molestation, in its first efforts of independence; since an interference on the part of any of the competitors for the tiara, was likely to transfer the national allegiance to a rival who might purchase it with greater indulgence. But no sooner did Martin the Fifth obtain the sole possession of the popedom, than he tried the experiment of exerting that authority which had been so implicitly submitted to, when employed by his predecessors. He penned a violent letter to Chicheley, A.D. 1426, on the subject of the king's

encroachment on what he termed the papal rights. To the king and parliament, indeed, he wrote in a milder strain; but the insincerity of his courtesy was fully manifested in his making void the statutes of Provisors and Premunire, and depriving the archbishop of his legatine commission. Chicheley (on whom the papal wrath had been thus violently hurled, in resentment for his having recently moved in convocation for the annulling of all exemptions from Rome, and dissuading the king from admitting a legate à latere), being intimidated by this proceeding, endeavoured to revive the now obsolete doctrine of papal supremacy, in a sermon addressed to the commons, on the text, "Render unto Cæsar, the things that are Cæsar's." But the power of Rome was now hastening from its meridian; and happily the time was past for such misapplications of sacred writ, to produce their former conviction. The commons came to no resolution; and the issue demonstrated that the preacher might with more propriety, as some one has observed, have chosen for his theme, "I looked on the labour of my hands; and, behold, there was no profit under the sun."

Chicheley having been thus disgraced, and the government being in a weak and divided state, the bishop of Winchester was invested with the office of legate à latere: but, in consequence of a protest made by the king's proctor, he was not received in that capacity, until he had promised to do no-

thing, by virtue of his commission, which might be prejudicial to the interests of the king or his subjects. Shortly after, a crusade having been proclaimed against the heretics in Bohemia, this cardinal legate was appointed to the command: but the permission granted him by the council to levy forces and solicit contributions throughout the kingdom, was clogged with many conditions and limitations, which furnished his master with additional warnings, that his authority was now passing rapidly away: and this was the more evident, as, at the same time, the Pope's nuncio, having solicited an aid from the clergy, for the purpose of carrying on the Bohemian war, met with a positive denial; and was even imprisoned for levying money on the English people, without the authority of law.

XXVII. There is one incident, indeed, which at first view may seem to militate against this general observation on the fading influence of Rome over the minds of our countrymen, at the period of which we are treating. The council of Basil having, A.D. 1432, decreed, "that the authority of a general council, when sitting, was paramount to that of the Pope, who could not, they pronounced, dissolve it without the consent of its members," the prelates and clergy of the province of Canterbury objected in convocation to these resolutions. It must not however be thought, that this solitary instance of support yielded to the tottering power of Rome,

proceeded from any returning desire of submission to it. The fact is, that, in the council of Basil, the members voted not, as in that of Constance, by nations, each having a vote, but in four deputed bodies or committees. By this arrangement, the English prelates, being few, were deprived of their proper influence: and hence the convocation passed the decree in question, with a view to hasten the dissolution of an assembly, organized so unfavourably to its interests: bodies of men, as well as individuals, being apt to sacrifice their real and ultimate advantage to the gratification of present resentment.

Other decrees indeed of the same convocation might be mentioned to show the impatience of the English ecclesiastics under the rod of papal tyranny: nevertheless in doctrine, and in supporting their own privileges and authority, they were still warm friends to the old religion. An accession of power accrued to them, in an act of parliament passed in this reign, exempting their servants from arrests during the sitting of convocation*.

XXVIII. Towards the latter end of the present reign, died two very opposite public characters:

* The university of Oxford having solicited the convocation, A. D. 1437, for attention to their members, who were disappointed in their hopes of church preferment, that body passed a canon, directing that only graduates should in future succeed to benefices.

the great and good, though, in some instances, irresolute Archbishop Chicheley, and his imperious and avaricious suffragan, Cardinal Beaufort. The character of the former is one of those on which, with some exceptions, history delights to dwell. He was an encourager of religion, a patron of learning, a friend to the poor: his zeal for the see of Rome was at all times subordinate to his attachment to his sovereign and country: he was condescending to his clergy, whose rights he protected; but he opposed himself equally to their licentiousness, and to their unjust claims of exemption from participation in public burdens. No heretic was burned during the twenty-nine years of his primacy. He founded All Souls College in Oxford; and another college, since sunk in St. John's. When Chicheley felt the advancing infirmities of age, he solicited the Pope for permission to resign a situation, the duties of which he could no longer discharge: but while he was making preparations for this honourable measure, death released him from his burden. As from contemplating a character thus nearly excellent, we cannot without pain turn our eyes to the contrast, exhibited in the life and death of Cardinal Beaufort; we shall here forbear to dwell upon the latter, briefly noticing, that the agonies of despair, and the wild execrations of profaneness, put an end to a life of pride, ambition, and rapacity.

“ Lord Cardinal, if thou think'st on heaven's bliss,

Hold up thy hand, make signal of thy hope.

He dies, and makes no sign : O God, forgive him !—

So bad a death argues a monstrous life.—

Forbear to judge, for we are sinners all :

Close up his eyes, and draw the curtain close,

And let us all to meditation.”

XXIX. *Edward IV.*—Pluralities, non-residence, and the promotion of illiterate and immoral persons to benefices, still continued to be grievances in the church. Of Archbishops Stafford and Kemp, who had succeeded Chicheley in the last reign, little worthy of notice is related : but it is spoken to the credit of Bouchier, the next primate, that he made some efforts to remedy these evils.

The new monarch, eager to secure a body so important as that of the clergy, in his interest, granted them a charter, dispensing with the statutes of Premunire and Provisors, and exempting them, in criminal causes, from the jurisdiction of temporal courts. Of these privileges many of them seem, it must be owned, to have made but an indifferent use ; as Archbishop Bouchier reports their profligacy to have been excessive, and only equalled by their ignorance. With a view to correct the latter evil, this primate introduced the art of printing into England, A. D. 1464. Though the reign of Edward IV. continued twenty-two years, it furnishes no further matter for ecclesiastical history. “ The voice of the

church bells," observes an old writer, "was drowned by the sound of drums and trumpets."

XXX. *Edward V.*—Neither does a single fact, which it falls properly within our province to record, occur in the unfortunate trimestrian reign of his successor, the fifth Edward.

In these times of trouble and civil commotion, the minds of men were too much agitated by the disputes of party, and the disasters of revolution, to pay attention to ecclesiastical affairs.

Richard III.—As it belongs to the civil historian to relate how many obstacles the Duke of Gloucester surmounted in his way to the throne, it is in like manner his peculiar office to determine the character of that sovereign. Mr. Buck, and after him the late Lord Orford, have endeavoured to make straight all the crooked places, both in the mind and body of Richard. "Je veux croire," said Voltaire to the latter, "que Richard III. n'étoit si laid ni si méchant qu'on le dit; mais je n'aurais pas avoir affaire à lui. Votre rose blanche et votre rose rouge avoient des terribles épines pour la nation."

To the vindications here alluded to, additional force might accrue, from the circumstance of this monarch's having founded two religious houses, one at Middleham, and the other in Tower Street, London; if it were not certain, that the most depraved heart may have some good inclination; and that sacred establishments may be raised and

endowed, from many other motives, than those of piety or charity.

The celebrated sermon of Dr. Shaw, delivered at St. Paul's Cross, was preached from the apocryphal book of Ecclesiasticus, xxiii. 25: "Her children shall not take root, and her branches shall bring forth no fruit:" a text which he very shamefully perverted in discrediting the birth of Edward IV. In his breast, as in that of many other offenders, remorse was awakened by shame: for having been hissed home, he began to reflect on his disgraceful prostitution of the sacred office, and died soon after of a broken heart.

During the wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, the interests of learning and religion decayed. The clergy, irritated against the Lollards, rejected all their opinions without much examination, and the laity in general were still too ignorant or too indifferent, to form opinions for themselves on subjects of that description. Superstitious rites were, accordingly, multiplied. Transubstantiation was fully established as a doctrine; the cup was taken from the laity; and in a few words, saint-worship, processions, pilgrimages, indulgences, idle confessions, and superfluous festivals, fill up the dark and melancholy history of the religion of those turbulent times.

In this period the clergy, having all the learning of the age, and finding it necessary to defend their immense possessions against the princes and

barons, addicted themselves to the study of the civil law, and earnestly endeavoured to introduce it into England.

XXXI. *Henry VII.*—Of the few ecclesiastical incidents furnished by the reign of Henry VII. the most prominent relate to the growing profligacy, and the enlarged immunities, of the clergy. A curious pastoral letter addressed by the primate, Morton, to his brethren, charges them, with great solemnity, “not to wear short liripoops of silk, nor gowns open before; nor swords, nor daggers, nor embroidered girdles; to be careful of their tonsures; and to let all the world see their ears.” We may remark, with seriousness, that it is the minuteness of detail, and not the general censure, which ought here to excite a smile. Attention to minor points of decorum, is the duty of all Christians, but especially of the sacred order: nor is the neglect of it compensated by the strictest fulfilment of the weightier matters of the law: for “these we ought to do, and not to leave the others undone.” It is when these more essential branches of obedience are neglected, that laying a stress on the gravity of external appearance degenerates into pharisaical hypocrisy. A Chicheley might, with great propriety, have exhorted his clergy, in general terms, to a correction of external levities and indecencies; but we must own that the admonition came with a bad grace from Morton, who at another period of his primacy

(which a witty writer has termed his *pontificate*) granted a pardon of sins for forty days to all who should discharge the Christian duty of contributing towards the rebuilding of Rochester bridge.

The vices of the ecclesiastical body, indeed, had now arrived at so shameless a height, that the Pope, afraid of danger to the hierarchy itself, from the clamorous and restless discontents of the laity, sent orders to Morton to circulate a monitory letter, among the superiors of all religious houses, who led lewd and dissolute lives, and were infamous for simony, usury, and extravagance. Unhappily, admonitions of such a nature were at this time heard without effect; for the avarice of Henry having been discovered by the clergy, they well knew how to secure his favour and forbearance, by granting him money from time to time. It was owing to the same ruling propensity in the monarch's breast, that ecclesiastics during his reign held many civil offices of trust; as he thought that their services could be cheaply rewarded, by the valuable sees which he had at his disposal.

From a papal bull, published A. D. 1489, by Giglis, bishop of Worcester, it is evident that the privileges of the ecclesiastical body were not less progressive than their vices: the prelate being empowered by this instrument to grant, that is, to SELL, pardons for every description of crime, except only that of striking an ecclesiastic.

XXXII. It may readily be conceived that so corrupt a body would strenuously instigate and applaud the persecution of any, who should presume to disturb them either in their doctrines or their practice. In fact, although the Lollard party was now much diminished both in its numbers and zeal, many men and women, during the last years of this monarch's reign, were reduced to ashes, for the alleged crime of heresy. A faithful and minute account of their sufferings may be found in Fox's Book of Martyrs, by those who take delight in such shocking relations.

CHAPTER V.

THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH DURING

THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII.

Contents.

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I. FROM the accession of Henry VIII. until the illustrious reign of Elizabeth, ecclesiastical transactions occupy a large portion of the general history of our country. To detail minutely all the various events, which, during this period, were, in any respect, connected with the interests or affairs of the church, would be to swell our work to a larger compass, than our prescribed limits admit. Yet, since we are now entering upon a new epoch, of which the occurrences are more interesting to the present generation, than those of any other which has hitherto engaged our attention, it will be necessary to proportion our narrative and reflections, to the increased importance of the subject. Our account of former events has been given, chiefly, for the sake of connexion. It has been extended no further, than seemed strictly necessary, in order to present a clear view of the rise and progress of the Gospel, in our island, and of its gradual admixture with the shades of ignorance and superstition. We are now to behold it, emerging from its long eclipse. We are to hail our countrymen,

emancipated from spiritual bondage, and conducting their inquiries with all that energy and ardour, which newly-acquired freedom of thought bestows. It must not excite our wonder, that, on first finding themselves unshackled, some among the reformers were guilty of wild transports and caprices. It was to be expected, that when the minds of men, after a long period of ignorance, began to be turned towards religious inquiries, many would bewilder themselves in a study, to which they were incompetent, because unused; and that some would even fall into errors little less dangerous or absurd, than those which they sought to avoid. These mistakes concerning the truth must occupy a share of our attention; and particularly such of them as have extended their influence to the present times. With whatever indulgence we may regard the first preachers of errors, into which, at the period of their introduction, it was not unnatural to be misled, we must not tacitly permit their adherents, in an age, when time, general improvement, the unlimited diffusion of free inquiry, and a more advanced state of intellectual ability, might have assisted them in forming a correct judgment, to glory in perversions of doctrines, opposed to the corruptions of Rome, as if such perversions were the statements of truth, and the belief of the soundest reformers.

II. Whoever has consulted the history of past

ages, or carefully observed mankind, must have had occasion to remark numerous instances, in the case of empires, as well as of individuals, in which the Almighty has extracted good out of evil, and made the perverse dispositions of man to contribute to his praise. No where is this position more clearly illustrated, than in the history of the glorious Reformation. In Germany, as is well known, this blessing arose, in consequence of the voluptuous taste, and splendid projects of Leo X. which induced him to raise money by the sale of indulgences; and some have even thought that the zeal of Luther, who was an Augustine friar, was first roused by his jealousy of the Dominicans, to whom this infamous traffic was exclusively committed. But whether this surmise be just or groundless, it is certain that the English reformation was immediately owing to the intemperate passions, the inconstancy, and rapacity of Henry VIII.

III. As far, indeed, as respected the chief Roman errors in doctrine, that monarch had little intention of effecting the separation, which ultimately resulted from his conduct. Inspired as he had been by his early instructors with the highest veneration for the authority of Rome, and the most implacable hatred towards heretics, he cannot be said to have, at any time, wholly renounced his early prejudices, or merited the name of Protestant. To a few of the reformed opi-

nions he was, no doubt, favourable : but there were others, and those the most prominent and essential, which he continued to regard with fixed abhorrence, and to persecute, to the end of his life. Soon after his accession, his first religious impressions were confirmed by the gift of a golden rose, consecrated, and dipped in chrism, which had been sent him, with a benediction, from Julius II.: a gewgaw, which he received with superstitious reverence and satisfaction. Having been designed, during the lifetime of his elder brother Arthur, for the church, he had ascended the throne less skilled in the science of government, than in scholastic divinity, which he had deeply studied, and in a display of which he placed his greatest pride. “ To his other excesses,” it has been coarsely said, “ he added a passion for Thomas Aquinas *.” No wonder, then, that his liveliest indignation should have been excited by the contempt, or rather the scurrility, which Martin Luther poured upon the doctrines of his favourite author. He accordingly assailed this advocate of the new opinions, by writing a book, “ De septem Sacramentis;” a composition, which so highly gratified the Roman pontiff, to whom a copy, richly bound, was presented, that he conferred on the royal author the title of “ Defender of the Faith ;” still retained by his anti-papal successors.

* Villars on the Spirit of the Reformation.

Henry's treatise on the seven sacraments must indeed be allowed to be an able dissertation, containing, with all its errors, a quantity of strong reasoning. Burnet admits that it deserves commendation, considering it to be the production of a king ; while Fuller pays it a still higher compliment, by venturing the insinuation, that " it is probable some *gardiner* culled the flowers, which Henry tied together in a posy." These reluctant praises bear witness to the merits of the volume : and, in truth, on such of Luther's arguments or expressions, as were in any degree exceptionable, its observations were strictly just. " Ita vides," said that reformer, " quam dives sit homo Christianus, sive baptizatus, qui, etiam volens, non potest perdere salutem suam, *quantiscunque peccatis*, nisi nolit credere. Nulla enim peccata possunt eum damnare, nisi incredulitas." To this nearly Antinomian method of stating the doctrine of faith, the king answered by citing several appropriate texts : such as Acts, x. 35 ; Galat. v. 6 ; and 1 John, iii. 7 : but he especially insisted on 2 Cor. xiii. 5 : " Examine yourselves, whether ye be in the faith : prove your own selves ; know ye not that Jesus Christ is in you, *except ye be reprobates ?*" Luther having affirmed that works were to be condemned, since the faith of a contrite heart was sufficient to answer the demands of the Gospel ; Henry thus replied : " If he means that works without faith are insufficient, he contends

without an adversary : for who does not know, Rom. chap. xiii. ver. 23, ' that whatsoever is not ' of faith, is sin ? ' But if his design be to separate faith from works, let him refer to the second chapter of St. James's Epistle, by the whole tenour of which it is plainly shown, that ' faith without works is dead. ' " To modern disputants on the same subject, an important lesson is afforded by this part of the controversy. Let them abstain, on both sides, from loading each other with uncharitable and opprobrious epithets, at least, until they have ascertained, whether their argument have any other basis, than that of ill-defined words, and whether it be not their common intention to maintain an identical proposition.

The reformer had contended, that the mass could not be considered in the light of a sacrifice, as the first observance of it took place previous to the death of the Saviour. On this head, the royal answer was weak : namely, that the mass was a general representation of what our Lord began at supper, and finished on the cross : but we cannot withhold our commendation from the rebuke given to Luther, for dwelling on the power of faith, as wholly superseding the use of sacraments, and for encouraging remissness in communicating, by asserting that no particular time was necessary for the observance of that sacred duty. Penance was another matter in dispute, into which the

king found it advisable not to enter with minuteness. "I wish the terrors of God's justice," he slightly observed, "may not be sometimes forgotten, and his mercy too greatly magnified:" a salutary admonition to some among the reformers, but altogether evasive of the question relating to the sacramental nature of the ordinance. On the subject of confirmation, the royal champion quoted the eighth chapter of Acts; on that of matrimony, the ninth chapter of St. Matthew; and on that of extreme unction, James, chap. v. ver. 14, 15: the application of all which passages will fall under our consideration, when we come to examine, in detail, the errors of the Romish church. It may suffice to observe, at present, that the texts fell short of their object, which was an elevation of the different rites in question, to an equal dignity with baptism and the Lord's supper. In speaking of orders, Luther had laid himself open to censure, by affirming (unnecessarily, for his argument did not require the assertion), that all Christians were priests alike. The defender of the faith was not remiss in exposing this mistake. He quoted Exodus, xxviii. 41, which he compared with Hebrews, v. 4: and he inferred from 1 Tim. v. 17, that even negligent elders deserve to be held in honour, for the sake of their office: but none of his arguments, it is evident, went the length of vindicating orders, as a sacrament: as accompanied by

a ceremony, a visible sign of an inward grace, which had been ordained by Christ himself.

On an impartial review of the whole of this controversy (of which the further prosecution is foreign to our history), it must be owned, that, while Luther maintained, for the most part, the right side of the question, the merit of arguing with dignity and calmness rests solely with his royal opponent. The reformer proceeded to the last excesses of railing: Henry, according to the elegant expression of an historian, wrote with his sceptre in his hand*.

IV. This monarch continued, for the first nineteen years of his reign, to merit the title of Defender of the Faith, in its full original meaning, by fighting the battles of four successive Popes, with arms both military and spiritual. After this period, however, the agreement amongst the opponents of Luther was dissolved. Henry had been married for eighteen years to Catherine of Spain, aunt to Charles the Fifth, a princess who

* The following extracts from Luther's reply to Henry may serve as specimens of his style :

“ Ego, sine larvâ, sed aperte dico, regem Angliæ Henricum istum planè mentiri, et scurram levissimum mendaciis suis magis referre quam regem.”

“ Nunc cum prudens et sciens mendacia componat adversus mei Regis majestatem in cœlis, damnabilis putredo ista et vermis, jus mihi erit pro meo Rege majestatem Anglicam luto et stercore conspergere, et coronam istam blasphemam in Christum, pedibus conculcare.”—*Inter Opera Thomæ Mori, edit. Lovaniæ, An. 1566.*

had borne him three children ; when *, being desirous of wedding a fairer bride, he solicited Clement VI. for a divorce from his consort, on the score of her former marriage with his elder brother Arthur, which was now first suspected to render his own union with her incestuous. The Pope, who found himself in the painful dilemma

* An attachment to Anne Boleyn has been usually assigned as Henry's principal motive for seeking a divorce : but it seems evident, that, antecedent to his seeing this lady, he had avowed, although he might not really entertain, conscientious scruples in relation to his first marriage. Objections to the legitimacy of his daughter Mary, had, prior to that period, been stated by several princes, to whom he had made a tender of her hand. Anne Boleyn was born in the year 1507 ; and as she returned from France, and became a maid of honour not earlier than at the age of twenty, a divorce, determined on in the preceding year, must have originated in some other cause than an affection, of which she was the object. It is, nevertheless, admitted on all hands, that his motives could not have been scruples of conscience, at least, scruples of the nature which has been specified : since these would have deterred him from appointing the princess Mary as his lawful successor to the throne. No other motive then can be devised for his repudiating the queen, than that her person was become disagreeable to him ; and that, as she was now past child-bearing, he had no prospect, but in a second marriage, of that male issue, which he so anxiously desired. This anxiety was afterwards strengthened, by being determined towards the young and captivating Anne. Whatever scruples of conscience the monarch entertained, respected, not the legality of his marriage, but the legality of his divorce. He apprehended the sinfulness of dismissing Catherine, more than he felt the impropriety of retaining her.—*Warner*, vol. ii.

of offending either the Emperor or Henry, spun out the time by preliminary arrangements, in hopes that the passion which the latter had discovered for Anne Boleyn might cool. Henry, however, was resolutely bent on the accomplishment of his amorous wishes: for promoting which he found a willing as well as active coadjutor in Wolsey, who rejoiced in an opportunity of gratifying his resentment against the Emperor, for having opposed his views of obtaining the papacy.

V. Contrary to the account given by most historians, it is certain that Cranmer was not the first proposer of the plan for consulting the European universities, on the subject of the projected divorce. The decree of the university of Orleans, relating to this question, bears date April 5th, 1529, three months previous to the celebrated conference betwixt Gardiner and Cranmer at Waltham Abbey. In fact, Wolsey, to whom the king had unbosomed himself, had, so far back as 1527, summoned a council of bishops and other divines, to deliberate on this delicate point: and it was that assembly, which recommended a reference to the different learned bodies throughout Christendom, prudently shifting the determination from themselves. The commissioners who were dispatched in consequence of this advice, carried with them such arguments as were likely to produce an answer conformable to the royal impatience: and hence Bishop Taylor takes occasion to observe, that as hardly

any doubts had, before that period, been entertained on the subject amongst divines, the number of compliant decrees affords a striking proof of the weakness with which men can judge with a bias on their minds; as well as of the facility with which a king, commanding a full exchequer, can procure whatever determinations he desires.

VI. Let this, however, be as it may, the opinions favourable to the divorce were not pronounced without the support of strong ostensible reasons: and the question was considered as one of sufficient nicety to divide the minds of the people at large*. The sentiments of the opposite parties hinged respectively on two seemingly contending texts; one of which, Levit. xx. 21, declares, that “if a man takes his brother’s wife, it is an unclean thing; and they shall be childless:” while the other, Deut. xxv. 5, “expressly commands the brother of a dead husband, who has left no family, to marry the widow, that children may be raised up unto his brother.” These passages received different interpretations. Some considered the former precept as moral, and universally obligatory; and the latter, as restricted to Judæa alone, where it was expedient that families

* Two questions were submitted to the European universities, viz. 1. Whether it was agreeable to the law of God for a man to marry his brother’s wife? and, 2. Whether the Pope could dispense with the law of God? A negative was pronounced on both these questions.—*Neale*, vol. i. p. 7.

should be preserved in their respective tribes. Others regarded the obligation of both as confined to the chosen people: while the apparent contrariety in the texts was reconciled, by affirming, that God having laid down the Levitical law, dispensed with it in the one case mentioned in Deuteronomy, for the sake of preserving families. It was the interest of the king, in adopting the former comment, to prove the marriage between Arthur and Catherine to have been consummated; but as this could not be satisfactorily accomplished, the divines who favoured the divorce contended, in limine, that marriage contracted is the same in the eye of God, as if consummation had actually followed. They next proceeded to argue, that every reason existed for supposing the fact of consummation, although legal proof of it could not then be produced. "It is true," said they, "that to the public challenge of the queen, Of my virginity and marriage-bed, I call God and your majesty's conscience to witness," Henry opposed no denial; but his silence may be believed to have arisen from discretion, since he was aware that a simple negation would not be accepted as evidence. Prince Arthur, however, is well known to have intimated to some of his attendants, on the morrow after the nuptials, the fact of consummation, by using an indecent expression *, which, it was maintained, was at least equivalent to Catherine's

* *Se fuisse in Hispaniâ.*

avowal. Arthur and Catherine had cohabited from November, when they were married, until the April following, when the prince died; and the union of his widow with Henry had been deferred to the tenth month after his decease, when it was apparent that she had not been left in a state of pregnancy *. In the bull of dispensation for the latter marriage, it was assumed and expressly stated, that the former had been consummated. It was further contended, that, although the Levitical prohibition might, at the first blush, appear arbitrary, when extended beyond a local application, a closer inspection would discover its consistence with the laws of general morality. In domestic intercourse, it is natural for a man to behave towards his brother's wife with that easy familiarity, which subsists betwixt brother and sister: undoubtedly, then, it is every where, and at all times, expedient, for the preservation of conjugal felicity, that the gliding of so tender and near a relationship into a criminal attachment should be precluded, by pronouncing a future union betwixt the parties to be incestuous. In this view of the case, the precept issued in the book of Deuteronomy only shows that the great law may be dispensed with, in the single case of a Jewish family, destitute of heirs. Does not Scripture afford facts which support this reasoning, which

* Burnet, vol. i.

show the universality of the Levitical interdiction, by evincing its correspondence with the moral sense of mankind? What shall be said of the reproof offered by the Baptist to Herod, for having taken to him his brother Philip's wife? Do not the strong terms, in which St. Paul rebuked the Corinthian's cohabitation with the wife of his father, demonstrate the criminal nature of a connexion between relations not less nearly allied? and is not this conclusion corroborated by Judah's desisting from intercourse with Tamar, as soon as he discovered her to be his widowed daughter-in-law?

Cardinal Cajetan, and the few English bishops who espoused the second interpretation, by which the law of Leviticus was denied to be a moral institution, argued, that, if it were moral, it would have been binding at all times, and under all circumstances; but that Jacob's espousal of two sisters, and even the relaxation mentioned in Deuteronomy, prove it to have been only a temporary regulation, not like any of the great laws of morality, established on the eternal basis of reason and equity. John the Baptist's reproof of Herod was not admitted to be a case in point; as both Josephus and Eusebius assert, that Philip, the lawful husband, was then alive. Even the Corinthian was, in all probability, an adulterer: his crime would not otherwise have been denominated a fornication, not named among the Gentiles, 1 Cor. v. 1; since the Persians married their stepmo-

thers: nay, this connexion was not unknown amongst the Jews, as appears by the request of Adonijah to Solomon: nor can it be denied that Judah separated himself from Tamar, not as his daughter-in-law, but because he considered her as the betrothed wife of his living son, Shelah, the brother of her former husband. The Jewish laws, relating to prohibited marriages, are, accordingly, no further binding, than as they are incorporated with modern ecclesiastical law: from any decree of which the Pope might grant a dispensation. But if it be pretended that the Levitical law is moral, the same must be averred of the law of Deuteronomy: they rest upon the same authority; the relaxation must be as general as the restraint; and if the king rested his cause on the Mosaical institutions at all, he transgressed those very institutions for which he professed a reverence, in repudiating the widow of Arthur. Again, if the Levitical law were still in force, its denunciation must likewise be in force: "If a man marry his brother's widow, they shall be childless." Was this the case with Henry? Had not Catherine borne him three children? Does not the removal of the punishment evince the prohibition to be abrogated? Finally, would it not be shameful on the ground of expedience to dissever a connexion which had subsisted for twenty years; and to disparage the title of other princes, who might be placed in similar circumstances?

The case of marriage with a brother's widow occurs so rarely in common life, that it does not seem material to lift up the scales, which contain these opposite arguments. Let it suffice, then, to observe, that, in the reign of Henry, neither class of disputants came to the inquiry with minds wholly unbiassed. The advocates of the old system cried shame against the divorce; whilst the friends of reformation, and of the Protestant Anne, were fully persuaded of its propriety. Thus do men, in all ages, form and pronounce their opinions on every great public measure; less regardful of its intrinsic merits, than of its reference to their own politics or interests.

VII. It is stated by Bishop Burnet, that the two English universities pronounced, entirely unbiassed, a decree which proved agreeable to the king: we learn, however, from other historians, that the royal emissaries did not obtain the votes of these learned bodies, without considerable manœuvring. The bishops in convocation, assuming the marriage of Arthur and Catherine to have been consummated, determined in favour of the divorce: Fisher of Rochester alone persisting in his refusal to support the resolution with his seal or signature. In the lower house of convocation, two hundred and fifty-three of the clergy voted for the divorce, and nineteen against it*. To the opinions thus

* Neale, vol. i.

collected in England, were added the decrees of the Sorbonne and other foreign universities, together with the declarations of several learned reformers, and chiefly that of Calvin, confirming the king's real or pretended scruples. These various sanctions being deemed satisfactory, Cranmer, now archbishop of Canterbury, proceeded to annul the marriage, May 23, 1533; and the repudiated queen gave place to the beautiful and accomplished Anne Boleyn, to whom, indeed, the sovereign had been married a month previous to the divorce. To record the downfall and death of Wolsey, as connected with these events, falls properly under the province of civil history, where he is characterized as insatiable, haughty, rapacious, oppressive; but able and generous, a patron of learning, and equitable in the discharge of his duties as chancellor. It also deserves to be mentioned in his praise, that the remaining part of Henry's reign was much more tyrannical than that had been, during which the cardinal had conducted the reins of government.

VIII. It was not to be expected that the king's bold measure could pass without the strong disapprobation of the Roman court. Clement, resolving to keep well with the Emperor, and resenting the waywardness of Henry, who in vain applied for his ratification of the nuptials, in a short time issued a bull, condemnatory of the sentence pronounced by Cranmer. This conduct, in turn, gave disgust

to the monarch, who immediately proclaimed himself supreme head of the church of England. The assumption was authorized at once by parliament and convocation, although the latter, conceiving the authority of a layman in ecclesiastical matters to be absurd, qualified their ratification of the title, by adding, "as far as is consistent with the law of Christ." By this first great effort to shake off the incubus, the authority of the Pope was instantly suppressed throughout all the English dominions. An act of parliament, A. D. 1534, pronounced that the royal jurisdiction extended to the regulation of ecclesiastical as well as civil matters; subjected to the cognizance of the monarch, all heresies and spiritual abuses; and conferred on him the annates and other revenues formerly exacted by the Pope. A valuation of all ecclesiastical property was now made, and inserted in a book, the *Liber Regis*, which, being deposited in the exchequer, regulates, to this day, the payment of first-fruits, wherever the livings are not discharged. Injunctions were circulated amongst the bishops, the inferior clergy, and even the masters of schools, to teach the people the king's supremacy, and the abolition of the papal powers, while books were printed, and assiduously dispersed, inculcating the same doctrines. According to Fuller, however, the clergy of the province of York withheld, for a long time, their avowal of assent to the innovation; and this proved the

last occasion, as it seems, of their differing from their brethren of Canterbury. When their consent was at length obtained, Tonsal, bishop of Durham, entered his protest, alleging, that the term supremacy was not defined with sufficient precision *.

Nothing was now suffered to be done, relative to the church, without the royal permission. The act of Henry the Fourth, enabling bishops to arrest heretics, was repealed; while the power of reforming their heresies was entrusted by parliament to the king, who indulged those unhappy men with a trial according to the common forms of law: the act also appointing, that, upon conviction, they should not be burned until the royal writ “*De hæretico comburendo*” was obtained; a powerful check to the tyranny of the bishops †. This grant was repeated in several acts, down to the time of Charles II. A proclamation directed that the

* In the first part of Bishop Burnet's History, p. 140, the arguments employed at the period of which we are treating, against and in favour of papal supremacy, are detailed with much care. All the bishops, says that historian, Fisher only excepted, satisfied with the former class of reasons, or in love with their preferments, resolved to comply with the changes which the king had determined to introduce. Collier, in loco, labours with his usual assiduity to prove, that the kings of England, long before this time, had disavowed in many instances the paramount authority of the Pope, in spiritual matters, within their realm.

† Burnet, vol. i.

name of Pope, as given to the bishop of Rome, should be erased from all writings. All payments, all appeals to Rome, were prohibited; and the subjects of the realm were interdicted from attending councils. The title of the archbishop of Canterbury was changed, by order of convocation, from legate of the apostolic see, to metropolitan and primate. The election of bishops was settled in its present form, by a *congé d'élire* issued from the crown to the chapter, on the vacancy of any see. Finally, the monasteries were placed under the jurisdiction of the crown, with power granted to his majesty in council, of investigating and reforming their abuses.

IX. Scruples of conscience, in regard to the supremacy, exposed at this time to the royal vengeance two eminent individuals, Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More. Fisher was brought to trial, and condemned, in the middle of the year 1535. The latter end of this aged prelate is interesting, and deserves to be recorded with some minuteness; since by illustrating his character, in which a sincere and amiable piety seems to have been slightly tinctured with superstition, it may serve in some measure to account for his obstinacy, in regard to the cause for which he suffered. After a long course of ill usage in prison, the morning at length arrived, June 22, on which he was appointed to suffer the last severity of the law. Having thrown away his sackcloth, he put on clean

linen, and carefully adjusted his fur tippet about his neck. His age and infirmities rendered it necessary, that he should be carried to the place of execution. On being set down at the Tower-gate, until the sheriffs should give notice of their being in readiness, he quietly raised himself from his chair; when, leaning against the wall, and crossing himself on the forehead, he took up a Testament, and solemnly prayed that he might be permitted to open it, for the last time, at some consolatory passage, applicable to his situation. The part of the sacred volume, into which he dipped, was St. John, chap. xvii. ver. 3, 4: "And this is eternal life, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent: I have glorified thee on earth; I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do." At these words he shut the book, saying, "Here is learning enough for me unto my life's end." It is not improbable, that in Fisher's situation the passage which presented itself may have been designed as an answer to his prayer; but the request itself indicated a mind prone to superstition; and all such reliances on a particular interference of Providence, in our perusal of the sacred volume, are to be condemned as fallacious; since they are nowhere warranted by Scripture, and since a lively fancy may easily torture any passage into a personal application, which Heaven never intended. As Fisher was extremely feeble, being now in his

seventy-seventh year, some attendants offered him their assistance in mounting the scaffold ; but these he softly put aside, observing, that they should soon see him shift for himself. It happened, on his approaching the steps, that the beams of the south-east sun shone full upon his countenance ; a circumstance of which he availed himself by repeating the words, “ *Accedite ad eum et illuminamini ; et facies vestræ non confundentur :*” an additional instance of that propensity which distinguishes the superstitious, towards construing common occurrences, into special interpositions in their favour. At ten o’clock he forgave his executioner ; and as soon as his gown and tippet were taken away, came forward with trembling steps, and addressed a short and affecting speech to the spectators : “ Christian people ! I come hither to die for the Catholic faith : I desire you to pray for me, that I may stand steadfast in it to the end. And I beseech God to save the king and this realm, and to hold his holy hand over the kingdom.” Not being permitted to make a longer harangue, he submitted to the fatal blow, and died with dignity and calmness. His head was afterwards fixed by his enemies upon London bridge.

The trial of Fisher was followed, in a few days, by that of Sir Thomas More ; who having returned evasive answers to the king’s solicitor, was pronounced guilty of high treason. So little formidable did death appear to him, that his usual

pleasantry remained with him on the scaffold. His behaviour on this occasion has been censured, and not without reason, as savouring of an unbecoming levity ; for “ though innocence,” says the old historian, “ is allowed to smile at death, it is not modest to flout thereat.” More suffered on the 6th of July, in the year 1535, and was buried at Chelsea, where an epitaph, which he had requested to be placed on his tomb, describes him as, “ Furibus, homicidis, hæreticisque molestus.” The obstinacy of the former of these two venerable characters, in adhering to the papal supremacy, must be attributed to the prejudices of old age ; and (we may add, from the circumstances of his death, as well as from his being duped by the ravings of the Maid or Nun of Kent), in some degree, to weakness : but that More, who appears, from the account given by Erasmus, as well as from his own *Utopia*, to have thought liberally in his youth, should, at an advanced period of his understanding, have become the slave of superstition, is a circumstance, for which it is far less easy to account *. The deaths of two men, so

* His catholicism was bigoted to the last degree : witness his persecution of the reformers, and his *Treatise on Purgatory*, in answer to the book entitled, *The Supplication of the Beggars*. “ This was elegantly and wittily written, but did not take so much as the other ; for such is the ill-nature of mankind, that satires are always better received than apologies, and no satires are more acceptable than those against churchmen.”

—*Burnet*.

high in rank and estimation, had the effect of silencing all inferior malcontents, and of producing, for the time, a general acquiescence in the measures recently adopted.

X. But though the English monarch had thus disclaimed the authority, he must not be conceived to have renounced the religion of Rome. In the question of the real presence, and in some other points, he was still, and at all times, the strenuous defender of the Catholic faith. Happily, however, the juncture of affairs checked his violence against heretics, and forwarded the interests of the Reformation. To embarrass the operations of the Emperor, and to prevent his directing his arms against England, Henry perceived the necessity of uniting himself with the German princes, who, in all their treaties, inserted a particular clause, for the security of such persons as professed the reformed doctrines. It was further conducive to the interest of the new opinions, to be openly encouraged by the queen, who obtained the promotion of Latimer and Shaxton, her chaplains, to the bishoprics of Worcester and Salisbury, from which Campeius and Ghinucci had been dismissed. Cromwell, high in power, and Cranmer, deeply versed in theology, in like manner wished well, though secretly, to the Reformation.

The people in general, it is true, looked at this time for no farther amendment, than a deliverance from papal tyranny and exaction: but the Lu-

therans sagaciously perceived in this public wish, a favourableness to doctrinal innovations; and if at the present juncture they remained inactive, and concealed their ulterior views, it was only through fear of alarming the rising zeal, or of weakening their own force, by prematurely and needlessly subjecting themselves to persecution.

XI. Cromwell, invested with the authority of vicar-general, and some time afterwards with that of viceregent, titles by which he was empowered to inspect the churches and monasteries, and to discharge, under the king, the various functions which had been lately exercised by the papal legates, appointed commissioners to visit all religious houses, to ascertain the state and the application of their revenues, to inquire into the conduct of their inhabitants, and to rectify whatever abuses they should discover. Henry had several reasons for sanctioning this measure: he knew that the monks declaimed against his divorce; and suspected them of sending intelligence to his enemies out of the kingdom: but hatred and revenge were quickened in his breast, by a desire to obtain possession of their ample revenues, which might gratify his love of magnificence and profusion. Besides taking an account of the charters, leases, lands in mortmain, property and plate, possessed by the different monasteries, together with their local statutes and exemptions from dioceses, the viceregent and his deputies were in-

structed to direct a careful and minute scrutiny towards their moral condition. A report was demanded, relative to the discipline, fasting, hospitality, and chastity of their inhabitants; and the indulgence which they had to expect from prejudiced judges, sufficiently appeared in the order for a particular inquiry, whether religious offices were performed in strict obedience to the Benedictine rules, which required that prayers should be offered seven times in every twenty-four hours, and that as soon as the bell began to toll, the copyists in the libraries should not even finish a letter which they had begun. The general result of this investigation (for decency forbids us to stain our pages by detailing the abominations which were developed) was a statement published by the inspectors, accusing the monastic orders (with the exception of a few well-regulated societies) of the complicated offences of idolatry, imposition, cruelty, intemperance, and incontinence. In estimating the truth of these imputations, and the justness of that sentiment of general horror which they excited, some abatement will necessarily be made, for the biassed testimony of the examiners. That the charge of imposition, however, was far from being groundless, we shall presently have occasion to show.

The arm of violence fell at first on the smaller religious houses, on pretence of their being the most corrupt: three hundred and seventy-six monas-

teries, of which the revenues did not exceed £ 200 per annum, or which contained fewer than twelve persons, being suppressed by act of parliament. While some among their inhabitants were removed into superior monasteries belonging to their respective orders, their revenues, amounting in all to £ 32,000, and their treasures, computed at £ 100,000 (both which estimates fall short of the real value), were confiscated, and flowed into the royal coffers *. Ten thousand ejected friars received forty-five shillings, and a gown, each; while every governor of a religious house was pensioned; but the latter body, to avoid the expense of supporting them, were soon instituted to vacant benefices: a measure which introduced into the church many disguised Papists and inveterate enemies to innovation. At this time the court of the king's revenue was established for the purpose of receiving the rents, and disposing of the lands, belonging to the dissolved monasteries.

At first view it will perhaps appear singular, that the smaller societies should be charged with being more dissolute than the greater. In order to explain this difficulty, it must be remembered, that after the present constitution of parliaments was introduced, in the reign of Henry III. the abbots and

* Owing to the custom of keeping rents at their first rate, and exacting heavy fines on the renewal of leases, many houses possessed much greater wealth, than might be inferred from the rate of their income.

priors, who, along with the bishops, formed the upper house of convocation, were summoned by writs directed to each, and sate amongst the peers, as prelates and barons. But in the reign of Edward III. the number thus cited was reduced to less than thirty : consisting of those whose predecessors had been barons, or had held in chief of the king : and in this manner, the lesser priors and abbots, although still sitting in the upper house of convocation, lost their privileges and influence in the higher chamber of the senate. Their monasteries, however, could not plausibly be dissolved, without the consent of the twenty-eight mitred abbots. Of these then it was necessary to gain the votes, by a promise and a temporary appearance of security to their own revenues ; and the inferior religious houses were branded as the more vicious, when, in fact, they were only the more unprotected.

It is somewhat strange, indeed, that the abbots in parliament did not perceive, in the projected measure, an intimation of the destruction prepared for their own houses : the more particularly as Fisher had formerly given them warning in convocation, when a similar proposal had been made, by relating an ingenious and apposite fable : “ An axe,” said he, “ complained to the large trees in a certain wood, that, having lost his handle, he was unable to cut faggots. Touched with compassion, the trees presented their suppliant with a shrub which grew in

their neighbourhood ; when the axe, having refitted itself, renewed its labours, and soon left neither large nor small trees in all that forest *."

XII. We may here direct attention to several particulars, interesting to the cause of reformation, but unconnected with these events. Tindal's translation of the New Testament having been prohibited, as abounding in errors and heretical principles, the people were impatient for a copy in their own tongue, which should prove more faithful to the original. At length, in 1536, Cranmer obtained the royal permission to satisfy this laudable desire : accordingly, the New Testament was divided into nine portions, each of which was assigned to an excellent Greek scholar ; and the work, after having been carefully reviewed by the bishops, was completed in three years. In the mean time, this advantage gained to the cause of truth, was counterbalanced by the death of the interesting Anne Boleyn, who may be said to have fallen a martyr to her attachment to the Reformation, since it was the enemies of the new doctrines who inspired the monarch with that jealousy which brought on her ruin. The indelicate precipitation with which Henry married Jane Seymour, on the day after the execution of this unfortunate queen, sufficiently evinces the injustice which presided at her trial.

* Bailey's Life of Fisher, p. 108.

XIII. During the convocation, or, more properly, the ecclesiastical assembly (the clergy of the two provinces having been united), which sate in the year 1536, the project for a reform was warmly agitated; and the king sent down a list of articles, relative to alterations in the established doctrine, for consideration, and, if possible, for general assent. These, which, though retaining much of the old superstition, considered the ancient creeds as the standards of faith, stated, in proper terms, the nature of justification and the Gospel covenant, condemned the worship of images, defined penance as consisting of contrition, confession, amendment, and works of charity, and left the doctrine of purgatory undecided, were signed by Cranmer and the favourers of reformation, who rejoiced in having thus far carried their point. They were even acceded to by the opposite party, being subscribed by seventeen bishops and forty abbots, and by fifty archdeacons and proctors in the lower house *. The encouragement afforded to freedom of debate, however, was extremely obnoxious to the friends of papacy; and the more so, as Cranmer introduced discussions concerning every point in controversy, between the reformers, and the church of Rome †. The whole kingdom, indeed, was, at this time, a scene of violent agitation and animosity, between the friends

* Neale.

† Collier, Warner.

and enemies of reformation: among the former of whom, were the prelates Cranmer of Canterbury, Goodrich of Ely, Shaxton of Sarum, Latimer of Worcester, Fox of Hereford, Hilsley of Rochester, and Barlow of St. David's: and among the latter, Lee of York, Stokesly of London, Tonstal of Durham, Gardiner of Winchester, Sherburne of Chichester, Nix of Norwich, and Kite of Carlisle: while the inferior clergy were no less divided *. With a view to reconcile these contending parties, the king issued a commission to the bishops and other learned men, directing them to draw up certain articles of union, to be published by royal authority, as the creed and ritual of the English church, in which all subjects were commanded to acquiesce. After much altercation, and many mutual compromises, the work was at length finished and produced. It consisted of two parts. The first contained the doctrines which it was necessary to believe; recommending assent to the Scriptures; to the Apostles', Nicene, and Athanasian Creeds, and to the three sacraments of baptism, penance, and the altar. In explaining these rites, infant baptism was particularly enjoined; penance was described as including the doctrines of auricular confession and sacerdotal absolution; while in the eucharist, transubstantiation, in its strictest sense, was distinctly

* Burnet, Henry.

pronounced to be involved. This first part concludes by stating the doctrine of justification, nearly as it is now received by all Protestant churches. In the second part, which related to the ceremonies proper to be retained for the purpose of cherishing devotion, image-worship and the honouring of saints were enjoined; neither, however, to be offered with the veneration due to God. Prayers for the departed, and almsgiving to the clergy as the recompense of similar devotions, were likewise inculcated in these directions: a proof that purgatory was not yet wholly disavowed. It was, nevertheless, not expressly taught; and, indeed, many others of the ancient errors were more than half relinquished. Tradition was not recommended as equally entitled to belief with the Scriptures and the three creeds: four of the seven sacraments were omitted; pilgrimages were not enjoined; and ceremonies were represented as having no further use than that “of stirring and lifting up our minds unto God, *by whom only, sins are forgiven.*” Though these articles were signed by all the members in both the houses of convocation, even by Gardiner and Bonner (whose hopes of the succession of Mary were defeated at this period by the birth of Prince Edward *), they entirely failed, like other half-measures, to satisfy either of the contending parties in the country; the Papists

* Neale.

thinking that too little, and the reformers, that too much of the ancient system was retained.

XIV. A fresh effort of the innovating party succeeded to these articles of union, in an injunction to the secular clergy published by Cromwell A. D. 1536-7. As the majority of English ecclesiastics never preached at all, and others converted their pulpits into means of inflaming the bigotry, and confirming the superstition of the people, the instrument alluded to directed each minister to preach one sermon every quarter of the year, declaring the Gospel of Christ; exhorting the hearers to works of charity, mercy, and faith; and dissuading them from the superstitions of pilgrimages, images, relics, and the counting of beads. Incumbents were further enjoined to teach their parishioners the creed, the Lord's prayer, and decalogue, in the mother-tongue; to remove from the altars all images and candles, which favoured superstitious practices; and to keep a parish register of burials, christenings, and marriages. These commands, however, were ill relished, and but reluctantly obeyed, by a very considerable number of the sacred body. In the northern counties, and chiefly in Lincolnshire, many of them were excited to co-operate with the vagabond, starving, and discontented monks, in promoting an insurrection, termed the Pilgrimage of Grace, which was quelled with great difficulty.

XV. No sooner was the Defender of the Faith delivered from the apprehensions occasioned by this commotion, than, thirsting for plunder, in consequence of the taste which he had received of it, and desirous of punishing the monastic orders for having stirred up the late discontents, he proceeded, in direct violation of his word, to abolish the remaining religious houses. For the accomplishment of this purpose, the preliminary measures, formerly tried with so much success, were now once more resorted to: a new visitation of the abbies was appointed, with a view to bring the vices of the monastics into light: and hardly was this proposal hinted, when a large number of abbots and monks were induced, through dread of the inquisition which threatened them, or in expectation of generous treatment, to make a voluntary surrender of their domains. The first monastery thus surrendered, was that of Langden in Kent; the abbot of which was found in bed with a prostitute, who went in the habit of a lay-brother *. Other houses were pronounced blameless: amongst which those of St. Edmondsbury and Godstow (the latter being the common place of education for young ladies of quality, or a hallowed retreat for unmarried women) are honourably distinguished; but rapacity was deaf to the cries of justice: and the good and the bad were

* Burnet.

swept away together *. At different times from 1537 to 1539, the king suppressed six hundred and forty-five monasteries, twenty-eight of which belonged to the abbots, already mentioned, who enjoyed a seat in parliament. Ninety colleges in several counties, two thousand three hundred and seventy-four chantries and free chapels, and an hundred and ten hospitals, were, at the same period, demolished. By an act of parliament passed in the year 1540, the royal avidity was gratified with the spoils of all these rich and magnificent institutions; not more tempting to rapacity by the rent of their lands, amounting to one hundred and sixty thousand pounds, than by their silks and jewels, their embroidered vestments, and their crucifixes and images of silver and gold. Some idea of this vast wealth may be conveyed, by stating, that the shrine of Becket alone, worn with the prostrations and kisses of innumerable devotees, besides containing two immense chests of gold, was enriched with many precious stones, and, in particular, with a large and beautiful diamond, presented by Lewis VII. during his pilgrimage from France, and considered as the most valuable in Europe †.

These violent measures did not however pass unaccompanied by expressions of strong disap-

* Burnet, Henry, Neale.

† Fuller.

probation. Even Cranmer and Latimer pleaded for the preservation of a few houses in each county, to be converted into schools and hospitals. By this interference they incurred the king's displeasure, which he shortly after made them feel. In the mean time, by a policy not uncommon in usurpations, he interested men of rank and influence in opposing any restitution of the monasteries to their right owners, by making a gift of their lands and revenues to his favourites and courtiers, by selling them at an easy rate to the nobility, or exchanging them for other lands on very disadvantageous terms. He also endeavoured to pacify those whom he had pillaged, by giving to each monk a yearly sum of eight marks, and granting small pensions to the ex-abbots and priors, proportioned to their merits, or former revenues: allowances, however, which were all to cease at the deaths of the expelled individuals, in no case descending to any pretended successors. Part of the newly-acquired property was expended in building a few forts and castles on the coast; and six new bishoprics being at the same time erected, were endowed with another portion of the spoil. These were Westminster, Oxford, Peterborough, Bristol, Chester, and Gloucester; all of which, except the first, subsist at this day: and it may here be observed, that Peterborough, which from its vicinity to Ely might have seemed a superfluous endowment, was erected into a see in

honour of Queen Catherine, who had, a little while before, been interred in a monastery, which stood on the site of the cathedral.

XVI. While the courtiers were induced, by participation of the treasure, to acquiesce in the royal plunder, it was found a matter of far greater difficulty to satisfy the people at large. To these, no immediate or palpable advantage accrued from the late dissolution. On the contrary, they beheld, distributed among favourites, on whom they had no claim, and who regarded them without condescension or pity, revenues, a great part of which they recollected to have been expended in acts of hospitality and charity. The younger branches of families were excluded from one source of provision; the afflicted, deprived of an asylum; and high rents were now exacted for lands, which had formerly been held at a moderate valuation. The king was regarded as having violated the Magna Charta; and it was observed, agreeably to the popular belief, that even the dead were injured, by being deprived of the prayers of the living. The indignation of the public, arising from these causes, was highly aggravated by their compassion, on seeing a vast multitude of unhappy persons, thrust out from their homes without warning and without refuge; as well as by the shock inflicted on their devout feelings, when they found churches and chapels, which had resounded with

the praises of the Almighty, perverted to secular, and some of them to profane uses.

XVII. No method of appeasing this displeasure appeared more plausible, than a detection and exposure of the most glaring cheats, which, in order to extort money from too credulous devotees, had been practised by the dissolved communities. It was accordingly proved, that the Virgin's girdle had been exhibited in seven different places, and her milk in eight. From a variety of quarters were produced, the penknife and the shirt of Becket, the coals that roasted St. Laurence, the paring of St. Edmund's nails, and an angel with one wing, who had brought over the head of the spear, which pierced our Saviour's side *; St. Ursula had three heads; to Malchus were attributed a still greater number of ears; while our Lady of Worcester, being stripped of her attire, presented to the indignant spectators, a colossal bishop, ten feet in height. The rood of grace was an automaton, kept at Boxley in Kent, whose eyes and lips were moved by secret springs †. Devil Catherine, or, as the words are spelt by some writers, Darvel Gatherine, was a gigantic image, brought from North Wales. Of this female fiend or saint an ancient prophecy had

* Neale.

† Fuller, Collier, Neale.—An image of Christ upon the cross, with Mary and John standing by, was formerly called in England a Rood.—Hence the etymology of Holyrood House.

predicted, that she was destined to destroy an entire wood. It happened, that one FOREST, a Franciscan friar, was brought to the stake for heresy : and Devil Catherine having supplied fuel to the flames, some wag among the mobility, with an ill-timed wit, informed the unfortunate sufferer amidst his torments, that a forest and a wood being convertible terms, he had the honour of accomplishing the prophecy in a jingle. But the most dextrous and curious deception of all, was practised with a pretended relic, at Hales, in Gloucestershire. This was a small globe of crystal, alleged to contain the blood of a Personage, too sacred to be named in a ludicrous narrative. The fathers gave out that the inclosed liquid, which came from no other veins than those of a duck slain weekly, could not be seen by any individual, unless he had previously been absolved of a mortal sin. In preparation for the trial, therefore, an offering at the altar was necessary. But to render the imposture still more gainful, the glass had been blown thick on the one side, and thin on the other : so that, whenever an opulent dupe appeared, the denser surface was presented to his vision, until he had purchased as large a number of masses, as they who conducted the experiment, conceived, that his means could afford, or his patience would sustain.

XVIII. In surveying these impositions, it is

difficult to determine which should most excite our wonder, the impudence and impiety of the cozeners, or the simplicity and credulity of the populace. Prior, however, to pronouncing our opinion with respect to the demolition of the religious edifices, we cannot avoid passing a strong censure on the motives which suggested it, the means by which it was accomplished, and the general application of the revenues which it supplied. No praise can be bestowed on the royal subverter, who (to use the language of Bishop Godwyn) “was inclined to a reformation which would turn the penny, and pillaged the shrines to supply his extravagance.” Fully as little is the *mode* of destruction entitled to unqualified praise; since it is but just to recollect that, the proofs of monastic licentiousness exclusively consisting of the reports of interested commissioners, the immoral and the well-regulated monasteries were involved in one common ruin; and further, that no adequate compensation was made, even to those who complained of misrepresentation, and challenged scrutiny; or to others, whom the prejudiced visitors themselves, in no instance accused of corruption, recommended to the royal favour. But, most of all, deserving of reprehension, was the general *application* of the monastic revenues.

It might have been expected that the pretended sanctity, which invaded the abodes of superstition, would have at once perceived the expedience and

propriety of converting them to pious and charitable uses ; and that the abbies would instantly have been consecrated anew as hospitals for invalids, or receptacles for the aged and infirm, the widow and the orphan ; but sacrilege dismantled the choir to furnish out the saloon : and all these tall and venerable piles, where the young had been educated, and the aged sheltered ; where records had been preserved, and histories written ; where study had been favoured, unhappiness comforted, and poverty relieved, were every where demolished or defaced. A country, which, prior to their destruction, was happily a stranger to any legal provision for its poor, but which now groans under the weight of parochial assessments, cannot contemplate their ruins with an entirely unmixed satisfaction ; and the traveller who visits their forsaken cloisters, who walks round their broken columns, and windows covered with ivy, while he rejoices to remember that he enjoys a purer religion than was cultivated within their walls, will not fail to recall those solemn rites, and that extensive bounty, which formed some slight atonement for the evils of their overgrown wealth, and their corrupted devotion*.

* The founders of religious houses had *corrodies*, or the privilege of sending a certain number of decayed servants, to be maintained within the abbies.

Posterity has to lament, that, on the downfall of the monasteries, many valuable books and records were destroyed by

Nevertheless, after all these candid abatements, approbation must remain as the prevailing sentiment in our minds on contemplating the suppression of so many strongholds of deception, and dormitories of indolence; a measure which facilitated the progress of reformation, and has, since, in many respects greatly conduced to the permanent prosperity of the kingdom. The same praise can, by no means, be conferred on that rapaciousness, which impoverished such of the ecclesiastical benefices as had been in the possession of the regular clergy, by transferring their revenues to laymen. These ought, undoubtedly, to have reverted to the parishes, from which they had been extorted by appropriations: and many of which, at this day, afford an inadequate support to their clergy.

ignorance, or lost by neglect. Books marked with a cross were condemned for popery; and those containing lines and circles, for correspondence with evil spirits. Two libraries were bought for forty shillings. The grantees or purchasers of books frequently destroyed the leaves for the sake of the covers; in which they bound up other productions, more suited to a barbarous taste. "Thus," as Mr. Fuller observes, "the fathers were made scavengers; and the Wise Men of Gotham covered with the Wisdom of Solomon." Sir Nicholas Bacon, according to Bishop Burnet, proposed the erection of a seminary of statesmen and historians, of whom the latter should supply the loss of the monkish chroniclers: but this, like other projects, was rendered abortive, by the profusion of the monarch and the avidity of his courtiers.

No sooner was the royal havoc reported at Rome, than every satirical pen was wielded against the sacrilegious opponent of Christ's vicar on earth, and of his saints in heaven; the services of the Defender of the Faith were obliterated; and parallels were drawn betwixt the king of England, and all the most hardened and impious characters, recorded in sacred or profane history. He was cited to appear before the Pope, and in default of which menaced with deposition from his throne: his kingdom was laid under an interdict; his subjects absolved from their allegiance, and exhorted to rebellion; while the two kings of Scotland and France were invited and urged to inflict the papal vengeance on their refractory brother.

XIX. The translation of the Bible, already mentioned, having been completed in 1537 or 8, and now called Cranmer's, and sometimes Matthews's Bible (though in fact, no more than Tindal's corrected *); Cromwell had the address to procure a warrant from the king, permitting it to be read by all his subjects; and even enjoining on each parish the purchase of a copy, under a heavy penalty. But notwithstanding this indulgence, granted, most probably, in order to undeceive the people in their notions respecting the papal supremacy, the royal zeal against the professors of

* Neale,

the reformed doctrines had not, in any degree, abated; being now fanned by the suggestions of the bigoted Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, whose influence rose as that of Cranmer declined*. The strength of this influence was

* Cranmer now stood almost unsupported. He had lost both the queens who had inclined his royal master to the Reformation: Jane Seymour having died soon after the birth of Prince Edward. Amongst his friends on the bench, Latimer was despised for his simplicity, and Shaxton hated for his pride; both indeed resigned their bishoprics on the passing of the Bloody Statute 1539: by the death of Fox of Hereford, he was deprived of his ablest supporter; and his friends committed an unfortunate blunder, in appointing Bonner, whose character they mistook, to the see of London, on the death of Stokesly. The archbishop was moreover too honest for Henry; having expressed his opinion, that all the abbies, except those of royal foundation, should be converted into hospitals: alleging the precedent of all former dissolutions, proposed or conducted by Wainfleet, Chicheley, or Wolsey. To support his declining authority, or more properly the cause of reformation, which depended on him, his party promoted the union with Anne of Cleves, which they thought likely to engage the king in an alliance with the Protestant princes of Germany. But Hans Holbein had drawn too flattering a picture: and the coarse appellation which the king bestowed on the reputed beauty, is too well known to require being repeated. Her divorce, and the concomitant execution of Cromwell, Cranmer's last friend excepting Henry himself, obstructed the progress of the new doctrines: these well-known incidents, however, are recorded in all the civil histories, to which they more properly belong. The divorce of Anne proceeded on the idea, that marriage was a sacrament, to which intention was necessary.

soon, unhappily, perceived in the parliament, summoned April 1538: where, after repeated debates, at which the king assisted in person, and the ardent Cranmer fruitlessly exhausted his strength in remonstrating during several days, six articles of faith were at length enacted, of a nature very opposite to the opinions recently received. It was declared by them, that whoever denied transubstantiation; whoever maintained that the communion in both kinds was necessary, or that vows of chastity could innocently be broken; that private masses were unprofitable, or auricular confession superfluous; or, finally, that it was lawful for priests to marry; should be burned or hanged, according to the *good pleasure* of the court. This act, which, from its horrid consequences, was called the Bloody Statute, and has since been termed, a whip with six knots, for the bleeding backs of Protestants, exposed the reformers to all the rage of their enemies, and, what they deemed an infliction no less severe, overwhelmed them with despondence on account of their cause. With respect to the first article, even the privilege of abjuration was denied: a severity of which the Inquisition itself afforded no example.

XX. The rigour of the Bloody Statute may probably be traced to the case of one Nicholson, a schoolmaster, and formerly chaplain to the factory at Antwerp, who, to avoid persecution, had changed his name to Lambert. This man had drawn

up his objections to the corporeal presence under ten several heads; and when cited before the prelates Cranmer and Latimer, instead of recanting, appealed to the king. Vain of his theological learning, and incited by Gardiner, the most artful and supple of flatterers, Henry, instead of deciding the cause, resolved to enter the lists of disputation with the pedagogue. On the day appointed, the royal disputant, enthroned beneath a canopy of white silk, emblematical of the purity of his faith, surrounded by all the imposing insignia of majesty, and attended by a large train of bishops, peers, and courtiers, appeared frowning on the wretched prisoner, who, intimidated by so solemn an apparatus of trial, already afforded a presage of his defeat.

As soon as Day, bishop of Chichester, had announced the occasion of the meeting, the proceedings commenced with the king's railing violently against his antagonist, who being pressed to declare his sentiments with regard to the eucharist, replied with firmness, that he did not believe the corporeal presence of Christ, in the sacrament. The point being now fairly at issue, the king urged his trembling adversary, with arguments drawn from Scripture and the schoolmen; while an adulatory or superstitious audience, collected from all quarters of the kingdom, warmly applauded the extent of his erudition, and the force of his reasoning. Not satisfied, however,

with the great advantages which his power had given him over the prisoner, Henry had provided a reinforcement of theologians, who, one after another, succeeded to the controversy. Cranmer, with his usual mildness, descanted on the possibility of Christ's being in two places at once, as he must be supposed to have been in heaven, when he appeared to St. Paul; but Gardiner, provoked at the gentleness of the archbishop, suddenly interrupted him by urging with violence the argument drawn from the voice of Christ, heard at the conversion of the same apostle. To Gardiner succeeded Tonstal and Stokesly: this latter prelate chiefly insisting on the phenomenon of water turned, by boiling, into air. Six other bishops having contributed their arguments, the disputation was prolonged for five hours; during all which time, the prisoner maintained his ground, with wonderful self-possession, erudition, and good sense. To Gardiner, he replied that the voice of our Saviour might, no doubt, be miraculously heard by St. Paul; but that his body could not be in two places at once: and to Stokesly, that the instance adduced by him was irrelevant; as water boiled to evaporation, was still the same, in substance. At length, harassed by so many antagonists, mocked, insulted, exhausted in strength, the unfortunate prisoner was reduced to silence. The king, now deeming his victory complete, concluded the argument, by asking

him briefly, whether he chose to live or die; to which he replied with great calmness, that he entrusted his soul to God, and submitted his body to the royal mercy. But the extension of mercy towards an heretic, had no place in Henry's disposition; and, to the disgrace of Christianity, Cromwell, as vice-regent, was commanded instantly to read the sentence which consigned this wretched object of persecution to the stake. The prisoner, seeing no hope of pardon, and no chance of escape, summoned all his fortitude to carry him through the last scene, as became a martyr to the truth. The sentence was executed with the greatest cruelty; and the victim of tyranny expired amidst torments, waving his hand, and crying aloud, "None but Christ! none but Christ!"

This idle spectacle, and barbarous discussion, would deserve the smile of ridicule and contempt, if its melancholy termination did not soften us into compassion for the sufferer, and rouse all the strongest feelings of indignation against his bigoted and inhuman executioners. The recital is also worthy of notice, as showing that both the prelates, Cranmer and Latimer, believed, at this period, 1538, in the real presence.

XXI. Nearly at the same time, the capricious Henry, still vibrating betwixt the mild influence of Cranmer and the malicious suggestions of Gardiner, executed several measures, tending to favour the Reformation. The names of many

saints were expunged from the calendar ; images and relics removed from the churches ; and an acquisition of labour gained by the community in the abolition of all the holidays in harvest, except three. Books of religious instruction, likewise, were now published by royal authority ; among which were the King's Primer and the Bishops' Book : publications, which, although retaining many of the old superstitions, tended to diffuse a spirit of free inquiry, and, in some instances, to dispel erroneous notions. *The Primer* was a collection of twenty-nine small tracts, containing the rudiments of the Litany, together with an explanation of the creed, Lord's prayer, and decalogue. The Bishops' Book, or *Institution of a Christian Man*, was drawn up by a committee of bishops, and revised and corrected by the king. It professed to contain an exposition of the doctrines of faith and manners ; and treated of the Lord's prayer, the creed, and the ten commandments, as well as of the seven sacraments, the Ave Maria, justification, and purgatory. In this publication, Hell, as mentioned in the creed, is taken for the place for the damned. The three ordinances of baptism, penance, and the altar, are termed the chief sacraments : while extreme unction is recommended as proper in the season of probable recovery, rather than at the point of death. The doctrine of consubstantiation is faintly admitted. Matrimony is number-

ed amongst the inferior sacraments. In speaking of the Catholic church, all are generally said to belong to it, who are united in the bands of faith, hope, and charity. The authority of bishops introduced under this head, is said to be held by divine commission; and to consist in the power of reproof, of continuing the hierarchy, and of making canons for discipline. On the clause relating to the "communion of saints," the invocation of these holy personages is confined to *intercession*, for which Isaiah, ch. xlii. is pleaded: and churches are declared to be consecrated to God alone.

The Ave Maria is held to be no prayer. Justification is placed on its right, orthodox ground: for it is observed, that no works could reconcile us to God, procure his favour, or effect justification; but that the merits of Christ, as applicable to man, are suspended on the conditions of faith and repentance. In the article treating of free will, it is said that a man willeth according to reason; but cannot will what is acceptable to God, unless holpen by divine grace; while what is ill, he willeth of himself. Lastly, praying for the dead in purgatory, is established on a passage in the apocryphal book of Maccabees, as well as on the authority of the ancients, and on considerations of Christian charity*.

* Neale prints in italics the paragraph relating to church government, and triumphantly infers from it, that priests and

XXII. In the year 1541, a second impression of the Bible, revised by Coverdale, afterwards bishop of Exeter, being finished, a requisition was issued for its being immediately admitted into every parish-church within the realm. Six copies of the work were placed in St. Paul's, and there perused by the populace with great avidity: but the violent Bonner, sensible of the tendency of such illumination, to expose the fallacy of the old opinions, laboured with unwearied and malignant zeal to procure the removal of the offensive volumes. Many of the bishops, in the ensuing year, attempted to suppress the new translation: complaining that the laity abused the privilege of perusing it, by collecting great crowds during the time of mass, reading to them aloud, passing comments on the sacred text, and converting the house of God into a temple of debate. On perceiving this objection to

deacons, according to the creed of the early reformers, were the only two orders in the primitive church. But the words adduced will not bear him out in his conclusion. They expressly signify the existence of three orders: deacons, priests, and apostles, who appointed the two others.—*Neale*, vol. i.; *Henry VIII.*

Burnet gives a different explanation of this matter. The schoolmen, says he, to magnify transubstantiation, extolled the priestly office so high; and canonists, to exalt the Pope's authority, depressed that of bishops so low; that these two orders were nearly confounded. And at this early period of the Reformation, the minds of men were not sufficiently enlightened to re-establish the distinction.

be of no avail, towards altering the determination of Henry, the anti-reforming prelates recurred to the pretence of alleged inaccuracies in the translation, as justifying their clamours for its recall. In opposing the circulated copy of the sacred volume, they indulged the expectation that to them would be committed the task of executing a new one; and, consequently, the power of protracting its publication. Gardiner produced a list of an hundred Latin and Greek words, of which the majesty and significancy could not, as he pretended, be retained in any translation; and on this account he urged the propriety of introducing them into the new work, in the original languages. The bigot was well aware that this confusion of tongues would render the tell-tale volume repulsive, if not unintelligible, to the readers. But this ridiculous and insidious proposal met with a successful opposition from Cranmer, by whose influence the correction of the sacred volume was referred to the two universities. Thus baffled in the attempt to deprive the Bible of its utility, the popish party, headed by the Duke of Norfolk, and the indefatigable Gardiner, next sought to obstruct its general circulation. In this latter scheme they unhappily prevailed: as appears by an act passed in 1543, prohibiting the inferior classes of subjects from possessing a copy of the Scriptures.

XXIII. To make amends for this privation,

the ecclesiastical committee, appointed to prepare a perfect rule of religious belief, published in the same year a book, bearing the title of "*A necessary Doctrine and Erudition for a Christian Man, set forth by the King's Majesty.*" This work, being little more than a revised copy of the Institution, with considerable alterations and additions, treated of the same topics, and nearly in the same order, with that superseded publication.

1. It begins with a declaration of faith; which is enjoined, to be understood in two senses; 1st, as a belief in God and his revelations; and 2dly, as conjoined with hope and charity; and as implying a condition of obedience in those who are justified by faith. Under this head, the doctrine of assurance of salvation is said to be left undetermined by Scripture. 2. The second title discussed in the Erudition is that of free-will; which, it is argued from several parts of Scripture, Rom. xii.; 1 Tim. iv. 1 Ep. John. ii.; and Matt. xix.; is not entirely extinguished by the fall, since the exhortations contained in these passages would manifestly be superfluous, if men had no power whatever to comply with them. This faculty of voluntary compliance is, nevertheless, determined to be much disabled by innate corruption: for to Adam and Eve reason was commanding and virtue easy; but without the succours of divine grace, their depraved posterity can neither begin, nor make any progress in obedience. Passages illustrative of

these propositions are cited from John, vi. and xv.; and 2 Cor. iii. Hence, it is pronounced, that man, thus circumstanced, is called upon to co-operate with the Holy Ghost, by the exertion of whatever portion of free-will remains to him; and consequently, in the event of his misbehaviour, to accuse his own obstinacy, in refusing to avail himself of the proffered assistance. 3. The next important point adverted to in the Erudition, is the doctrine of good works. It is stated, that good works include an inward disposition, and an outward practice; that the defects of works, commenced in preventing grace, are supplied by the merits of Christ's passion; being by this means rendered acceptable in place of full and perfect obedience, and instrumental in conducing to happiness: that penance, accompanying inward contrition, is serviceable, under these limitations; but that justification and pardon must ever be conceived, as given without any equivalent or compensation offered by man: and that thus maintaining the necessity of good works is no lessening of divine grace; since all works, both in their commencement and procedure, are the effects of that influence: Tit. ii.; 2 Cor. v.—Concerning this rule of Christian belief and conduct, although some of the expressions may be too bold, we can by no means agree with the historian, Warner, who represents it as “containing so much metaphysical jargon about the merit of good works,

about the essential parts and consequents of faith, about grace and free-will, that it put back the Reformation, instead of promoting it."

The Erudition speaks more amply than the Institution, in explaining the descent of Christ into hell; and likewise in asserting the SOLE merit of HIS intercession. In treating of the Catholic church, kings are declared to be the superintendants of bishops. Grace is said to be conveyed in sacraments, by virtue of the divine institution, and not in proportion to the moral qualifications of the officiating bishop or priest. The Lord's prayer is recommended, in the mother tongue: and the national church is declared to be a complete body, having power to preserve its own purity, and to govern its own members. That these declarations afforded high gratification to the reformers, will readily be conceived: but their satisfaction was considerably impaired, and their applause abated, on finding so much valuable truth mingled with the ancient errors of transubstantiation, private masses, and communion in one kind, all of which the Erudition sanctioned.

XXIV. About the same time, another committee, likewise under royal and parliamentary authority, examined the rites and ceremonies of the church; and drew up a Rationale, in which these ordinances were explained. As it was not judged proper to reprint the Mass-book, lest the charge of new books during this reign should be too

great, their chief labour consisted in erasing such offices as contained petitions for the Pope. In the Rationale it was pronounced, that rites and ceremonies are not to be ranked with ordinances necessary to salvation. A church, set apart from profane uses, is nevertheless declared to be requisite; for which 1 Cor. xiv. is cited: and it is added, that consecration should extend to the churchyard. The sign of the cross in baptism is enjoined, only as a decent and ancient custom: but many superstitions, such as oil, holy water, palms on Palm-sunday, and candles on Candlemas-day, are, in treating of the service of the church, retained and justified.

XXV. To these instances of a disposition favourable to the illumination of the public mind, was added a book of homilies on the Epistles and Gospels throughout the year, together with a few occasional sermons. Rational preaching had been so long disused, that many of the reformed ministers, through want of models, were found defective in this essential function; whilst others perverted more powerful abilities, and desecrated the house of instruction, by venting from their pulpits their animosity against the monks. The moderate and judicious Cranmer, accordingly, found it necessary to direct, that no minister should preach, without having obtained a license; while he promulgated the above-mentioned expo-

sitions and discourses, to be read to the people by the unlicensed clergy.

“ The preachers who were licensed,” says Dr. Warner, “ having many complaints brought against them to the king, began to write down their sermons, that they might be able to justify themselves from such accusations ; and hence the reading of sermons grew into a practice in the church of England, which till then had not been known.” In this observation, there appears to be a departure from that general accuracy, which forms almost the sole apology for a narrative prolix even to tediousness. Did the historian forget, that Archbishop Peckham had published outlines of sermons on the doctrines and commandments, the seven works of mercy, the seven sins, the seven virtues, and the seven sacraments ? Is it not certain, and indeed more to our purpose, that in the year 1447, Lichfield, then rector of All Saints in Thames Street, left no less than three thousand and eighty-three sermons, written with his own hand, and all of which he had preached ? Warner likewise finds fault with written discourses, on account of the heaviness observable in the recital : but this disadvantage may be easily avoided, by taking some little pains to commit the discourse to memory. There is one main objection to extemporaneous preaching—the probability which it introduces of dropping a rash expression or ludicrous illustra-

tion, in the awful place of truth and solemnity ; an objection, which appears altogether insurmountable.

XXVI. The archbishop, who, in that well-known gift of the ring which he exhibited at the council, had recently received a proof, that difference of opinion had not diminished his influence over the royal breast, obtained from his master in the ensuing year, an order for translating into English, the prayers, termed the Processions, or Litany : which were appointed, when thus rendered intelligible, to be used in every church throughout the realm. In the Litany, which differs not materially from that now in use, after the words, “ privy conspiracy and rebellion,” this clause was added : “ from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities.” This new indulgence, more than any preceding one, afforded gratification to the reformers ; who flattered themselves that it was a prelude to the full translation of all the different liturgies. But the death of the sovereign, which happened on the twenty-seventh of January, A. D. 1547, deferred the accomplishment of these expectations ; and transmitted the unfinished work of reformation, as a legacy to be improved by his amiable son and successor.

XXVII. When the alarming state of Henry’s maladies left no possibility of recovery, and afforded every prospect of speedy dissolution, Sir An-

thony Denny alone had the boldness not only to apprize him of his approaching death, but to exhort him to repent of his many errors and transgressions. Far from being irritated by this candid address, the king avowed a deep sense of contrition, professing at the same time, a trust in the mercies of Jesus Christ, which he knew were greater than his sins. Cranmer was now sent for from Croydon, to attend the expiring monarch; whom on his arrival he requested to manifest some sign of his dying in the faith of Christ. Henry, now exhausted in strength, but retaining his faculties to the last, could only answer by squeezing the hand of the archbishop: and, in a little while, his eyes became insensible to the splendours of royalty, and his ears to the voice of adulation.

XXVIII. The historian of the Reformation aptly terms the eighth Henry, one of the most uncounsellable men in the world. Naturally vain, violent, and capricious, the title of Defender of the Faith, which had been bestowed on him, and afterwards, that of Supreme Head of the Church, which he had assumed, carried him to a pitch of spiritual intemperance, which could brook no contradiction, and which even presumed to dictate one change of opinions after another, as a rule to be observed by his subjects. Although influenced by Cranmer to favour the Reformation, he can hardly be said to have personally withdrawn from

the church of Rome, in more than related to the supremacy, and partially to the different doctrines dependant on justification by faith. With respect to transubstantiation, and other leading points, he lived and died a Catholic: and even his encouragement of religious knowledge was granted only with a view to convince his subjects, that the papal claims to authority within his realm, had no foundation in Scripture or in reason. When the Roman yoke was cast away, the clergy were ordered to recommend in that form preceding the sermon which was termed "the bidding of beads," a petition for the welfare of the Catholic church, and against the papal supremacy. While Henry thus wavered betwixt an opposition to the power, and a defence of the doctrines of Rome, it is no wonder that he exhibited a spectacle of inconsistency and contradiction, which would be ludicrous, if its admixture with tyranny and cruelty could be forgotten. The two religious parties, however, kept in play by the royal indecision, carefully avoided all public opposition to the freaks and inflictions of arbitrary power: the Papists being apprehensive of Henry's entire desertion of their cause, and the reformers equally fearing a cessation of those liberal indulgences which they experienced. This tame submission to his will, and the necessity which he perceived, after having shaken off the yoke of Rome, and dissolved the monasteries, of opposing with severity the secret resentment and

artifices of the papal emissaries, inflamed to the utmost height his violent and vindictive disposition, and made the latter part of his reign a scene of odious bigotry, of unjust and merciless persecution. As he had proceeded too far not to offend the Catholics, and stopped short of what would have gratified the reformers, both parties, on canvassing his measures after his death, alike declared their dissatisfaction.

When thus summing up the character of Henry, we must not fail, in strict impartiality, to allow him the merit of sincerity in his religious zeal. In the operation of his most violent passions, he seems to have wished, at all times, to reconcile his conduct with the divine laws: witness his having no amours, after his first marriage, beyond the bounds of matrimony, and his six years endurance of the papal delay, previous to his union with Anne Boleyn. When we consider the man and his prejudices too, his steady attachment to the Protestant Cranmer will be not less entitled to our praise; nor can we help wondering at the great lengths, to which the influence of that prelate prevailed with him, in the encouragement of the Reformation. The “*Erudition of a Christian Man*” is certainly as liberal a concession, as could be expected from a bigoted Catholic. Neither must we here omit to mention several instances of generosity, and several useful measures, which redound to the credit of Henry. The plunder derived from

the dissolved monasteries was not converted to his personal use : and great part of it was expended in the erection of the new sees, in the founding and endowing of Trinity College, Cambridge, and in the finishing of that beautiful structure, King's College chapel. When the parliament voted him the revenues of the suppressed colleges, hospitals, chantries, and free chapels, he expressed his intention of applying the grant to the encouragement of learning, and the benefit of the poor : in conformity with which promise he established several lectures in both the universities, and many grammar-schools in different parts of the country *.

Henry also forbade by proclamation the use of several books, which, though in principle or intention favourable to reform, were full of intemperate language. Many reformers of this period, indeed, refuted error with most indecent vulgarity, and hurt a good cause by an injudicious vindication of it. We fear it will wound the ear of piety, to mention, that one of these controversialists termed a crucifix, "Block Almighty ;" while another, in

* " All papers in matters of religion, set forth by public authority in this reign, were revised by the king ; and in many places large corrections are to be seen, made with his own hand, which show both his great judgment in those matters, and his extraordinary application to business."—*Burnet*.

ridiculing the corporeal presence, affirmed, that “he could thrash the Deity out of the straw.” Perhaps, when feelings are strongly roused, on subjects of great moment, such ebullitions of a sincere indignation, however reprehensible, are scarcely to be avoided: but we must not refuse our applause to that wisdom, which, at such a juncture, discerns the errors, and moderates the violence, of the well-meaning.

The tenets promulgated by some of the reforming teachers were, further, in the highest degree Antinomian. In the *Wicked Mammon*, a book said to be written by Tindal, we find the following dogmas: “Christ, in all his deeds, did not deserve heaven.”—“The commandments were given, not to be obeyed, but that we might know our damnation, and cry for mercy.”—“To wash dishes is not less pleasing to God, as touching the deed, than to preach.”—“Beware of good intents; they are damned of God.”—“Every man is lord of another man’s goods.” Much in the same strain were a variety of propositions, contained in “*The Revelation of Antichrist* :” “The devil built universities; they are the gate of hell.”—“Moral virtues, such as temperance, justice, fortitude, and charity, make a synagogue.”—“Sin cannot condemn us.” *The Sum of Scripture*, another of these publications, asserts, that “we have as much and as great right to heaven as Christ;” and in another place, “that we need not labour

for heaven, as we possess it already." On all such passages it may, no doubt, be observed, that they evidently proceeded from a well-meant zeal, inflamed to excess against the false and pernicious doctrines of efficacious good works: that to oppose one extreme by another is an infirmity to which all men are liable; and that it will be highly unjust to impute to the more moderate and judicious reformers, or to their cause, the extravagances of their intemperate or ignorant brethren. Since no such sallies, however, are to be found in the *Erudition*, Henry, unquestionably, deserves no small praise for marking out a just limit betwixt innovation and fanaticism. Sometimes, indeed, he recommended moderation and mutual deference to both the contending parties; facetiously observing, that "the one were too bigoted in their old mumpsimus, and the other too curious in their new sumpsimus." Nor did he fail to give an example of the liberality which he enforced. When told that Coverdale's Bible abounded in faults, he inquired whether they amounted to heresies; and on being answered in the negative, promptly rejoined, "Then in God's name let it go abroad among my people *."

A wise regard for good morals was likewise manifested by this monarch, in his suppression of sixteen public stews. These houses of prostitu-

* Burnet.

tion were distinguished by signs, one of which, agreeably to the anticatholic prejudices of the age, was that of the cardinal's cap ; and they received the name of stews from dishes of fish, taken out of a pond with which each of them was furnished. Some have censured this suppression, as rendering the sin of adultery more frequent ; but that, be it remembered, is no necessary offence ; and as marriage is free, and open to all, there seems no occasion for any government's allowing a greater indulgence to infirmity. The public sanction of a trade and life of depravity ought surely to be inadmissible in a Christian land.

In a word, Henry VIII. was influenced by religious principles, against which he too frequently permitted his passions to prevail ; but he was, in no instance, carried to that extent of profligacy, which altogether sets principle at defiance. He did not stifle the voice of conscience : he pacified it. By collecting every specious argument, which favoured any object he had for the time in view, he effected a compromise betwixt passion and principle, making them speak the same language. A self-deceiver rather than a hypocrite, he affords a melancholy warning, how many crimes may be committed, and how many vices indulged, (it is incorrect to say, under the cloak of religion, but) in consistence with a persuasion, that the holy criminal is all the while obeying the dictates of duty, and serving the cause of God.

The personal character of this prince, however, as well as the motives of his conduct, should be deemed in fairness no disparagement to the great cause of reformation in the English church. That cause must be judged by its own merits; while the effect of a comparison of the end attained, with the means, should only be that of leading us to adore the wisdom and goodness of that supreme Governor, who makes unruly passions subservient to his will, and conducive to the good of his creatures. Henry was the instrument in his mighty hand for delivering the people of England from implicit obedience, and from the terror of ecclesiastical courts, for placing the Scriptures in the hands of the commonalty, and rendering the church an entire body, independent of foreign authority *.

* The power of secular courts to try the inferior orders of ecclesiastics was, in the early part of this reign, a matter of keen dispute betwixt the clergy and the laity. Their mutual animosity on this point did not, however, prevent their cordial agreement in persecuting the disciples of Wickliffe. Many of these unhappy persons were committed to the flames in different parts of the kingdom, but chiefly in the diocese of Lincoln; and even such as abjured their Lollard principles were compelled to wear the picture of a flaming faggot sewed on their left sleeve, as a public confession that they had deserved to be burnt. (Burnet. Collier.) Bishop Burnet states, that in the course of these cruelties, six men and a woman were burnt at Coventry, for teaching their children the Lord's Prayer, the Decalogue, and the Creed, in English. This fact is called in question by Collier, as being at variance with the

XXIX. In the early part of Henry's reign were passed the acts against pluralities and non-residence *. Soon after the enactment of these wise

regulations published by Archbishop Peckham A. D. 1281 ; as well as with a declaration of Thoresby, archbishop of York, in the year 1360, " that to hear Godys law in the modyr tongue, is better than many masses."—" Could it be a crime," adds this historian, " to teach their children what they themselves were enjoined to hear ?" May we not ask, however, whether it is not more likely that the progress of corruption had reduced to a dead letter instructions delivered at the distance of two hundred or one hundred and fifty years ? These martyrs were, in fact, condemned to the flames, for various alleged offences : they denied the corporeal presence, and read Wickliffe's Testament ; a work, which, in the synod convoked by Archbishop Arundel, the clergy had prohibited as erroneous, while they promised a better translation. But the opinion of Collier on the present occasion, presents one of those various indications of partiality to the old superstitions, which he betrays from this period to the end of his history.

* " Abuses that even Popery itself could not but condemn." The clergy abhorred the precedent of the commons meddling in ecclesiastical matters : so Fisher spoke vehemently against them, and said, " All this flowed from lack of faith."—*Burnet*, vol. i.

To the former of these acts an objection has been made, that, in the case of a small living, it is an harsh restriction ; but this is obviated by enabling the clergy to hold two livings under a fixed value, or within a certain distance. Residence, it has also been said, should be dispensed with, wherever the talents of the incumbent are fitted for a higher field of utility. We shall find in the sequel, that this case is likewise provided for to a certain, though not further than a reasonable extent. On the wisdom of the acts in question, as generally applicable,

regulations, appeared the statute of precedence, authorizing the viceregent, and then the archbishop of Canterbury, to take place of all persons, except the royal family. At present the lord chancellor intervenes between the two archbishops. With respect to the suffragans, every bishop, on the title of his barony, precedes all other barons under the degree of viscounts. The priority of ecclesiastical dignitaries amongst one another is settled in the following order: London, Durham, Winchester (as prelate of the Garter), and then all the others, according to the dates of their respective consecrations: but if any bishop be a privy counsellor, he follows the prelate of Durham. Henry obliged all the bishops within his realm to take out commissions, in which his paramount authority, both in ecclesiastical and secular matters, was acknowledged.

A written charge, addressed in this reign by the infamous Bonner to his clergy, illustrates two common but just observations: that the worst men

the opinion of Lord Bacon is not to be opposed: that "non-residence, except in case of necessary absence, seemeth an abuse drawn out of covetousness and sloth: that men should live of the flock which they do not feed, or of the altar at which they do not serve, is a thing that can hardly receive just defence; and to exercise the office of a pastor, in matter of word and doctrine, by deputies, is a thing not warranted."

Acts were also passed in Henry's reign for regulating mortuaries, against exactions for probates of wills, and against churchmen being farmers of land.

are not without some good in their dispositions ; and that many can perceive and own the excellence of virtue, who find themselves unable to practise it.

Ministers were enjoined, in this publication, to study the “ necessary erudition ;” to read daily a portion of the sacred volume, with a commentary ; and to instruct the children of their parishes in English, “ that they may know how to believe and pray, and to live according to the divine will.” The charge further directs ecclesiastics to reconcile, by mild precept and benevolent example, such amongst their parishioners as they should find at variance ; to prevent the frequenting of taverns and the use of unlawful games on Sunday ; and to be themselves sparing in such amusements at all times. As, prior to this period, the friars, who only preached in Lent, had laboured to inspire enthusiasm rather than rational devotion, and to recommend superstitious observances, instead of expounding the doctrines and duties of Christianity, the sacred body are next ordered to explain, from their pulpits, the Epistle and Gospel for the day, agreeably to the sentiments of some learned divine, and in such a manner as should promote prayer and holy living, or reasonably show the meaning of the church ceremonies. Certain pageants, ridiculing the vain and superstitious observances of the Romish worship, having been exhibited by intemperate zeal, in the churches, the more judicious clergy had complained of the ir-

reverent custom, as tending to bring all religion into disrepute : and accordingly, the last of Bonner's injunctions was designed to remedy this glaring abuse, by forbidding the representation of any plays or interludes in places set apart for divine service.

XXX. To perceive at a single glance the state of the Reformation at the death of the eighth Henry, it will be necessary to recollect that the chief grievances which demanded redress were, (1.) the papal claim to universal jurisdiction ; (2.) the pretension to infallibility ; (3.) the reading of the Scriptures in an unknown tongue ; (4.) indulgences ; (5.) image-worship ; (6.) transubstantiation ; and (7.) the denial of the cup to the laity. Of these abuses the first four were corrected, and the fifth considerably modified ; while the two latter were still permitted to corrupt the national creed. But let no one regard the progress of truth, though thus partial, as by any means insignificant. To the great Father of the universe was now restored his right of forgiving sins ; to his blessed Son, that of universal jurisdiction ; while the third Person in the sacred Trinity recovered his title of the only infallible witness. This ground, already gained and secured, was speedily, as we shall find, converted by active piety into a means of acquiring further advantages.

Of the ecclesiastical authority which had been exercised by the Pope, the greater part accrued

to the royal prerogative. To call and dissolve convocations, to grant them the power of debating on matters of religion, to command the election of prelates to the vacant sees, and to order the administration of the word and sacraments—all these privileges were transferred by act of parliament to the king. The same statute made over to the archbishop of Canterbury the right of granting faculties, and of determining ecclesiastical causes in his court, from which, nevertheless, an appeal lay to the court of delegates. Subject to the royal license, the clergy in convocation might enact canons; while to laymen, in this partition of recovered rights, reverted the privilege of judging of Scripture.

With respect to the papal revenues, they are comprised in the following catalogue: 1. The Peter's pence, which, at the rate of one penny for every chimney that smoked, amounted in common to the sum of £7500: 2. Athelstane's pension, distinct from Peter's pence, as being restricted to three hundred marks, while the other sum varied according to the number of houses: 3. Sums received in appeals, which, Exodus, chap. xviii. ver. 22, was cited on pretence of justifying: 4. The sale of dispensations: 5. The sale of indulgences: 6. Legatine levies: 7. Mortuaries: 8. Tenths: and, 9. Annates. To these extortions must be added, 10. the money raised by pardons, by pilgrimages, made, as has been wittily observ-

ed, with bare feet, but not with empty hands; and, lastly, by the sale of *Agnus Dei's*, and similar baubles, to the inferior orders of the church. If we except the tenths and annates voted to the king, and the expenses incidental to dispensations and appeals, which went to increase the revenues of the primate, the whole of this enormous expenditure had ceased before the death of Henry.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER V.

ON THE GENERAL STATE OF CHURCH GOVERNMENT IN ENGLAND, FROM THE NORMAN CONQUEST TO THE REIGN OF EDWARD VI.

Contents.

I. Roman Encroachments.—II. Impoverishment of the parochial Clergy.—III. Convocations.—IV. Monasteries and other religious Houses.

IN taking a retrospect of that portion of English church history, which elapsed betwixt the Conquest and the Reformation, it seems expedient to elucidate several parts of the narrative by a few short annotations, which shall here accordingly be thrown together, though in a very loose and desultory form.

I. It is interesting to contemplate the gradual manner, in which the papal authority made its encroachments within this realm: like Milo, increasing the burden by little and little, until the shoulder which bore it carried a weight that is now astonishing. Prior to the Conquest, these usurpations were few; but the Pontiff, having lent a sanction to William's pretensions, repaid himself by sending a legate into his kingdom. Henry I. resigned the donation of bishoprics: from Stephen was obtained the privilege of appeals: clerks under Henry II. were exempted from the

secular power. An interdict appeared in the reign of John, who surrendered his kingdom to the Roman Pontiff, to be held by the yearly payment of 1000 marks: and lastly, in the time of the third Henry, the drain formed by livings in the possession of foreigners, and by other papal impositions and exactions, drew out of this country an annual sum of £70,000. The tide of Roman power had now reached its greatest height, and from this period it began to ebb; an oppressed nation having awakened from its lethargy, and proceeded to provide for securing at once the prerogative of the prince and the liberties of the people. The papal presentation to benefices was taken away, by 25 Edward III. stat. 6; and more fully by several acts of Richard II. Appeals to Rome were first prohibited by 27 Edward III. chap. 1, otherwise called the Statute of Provisors; and the 16th Richard II. chap. 5, the celebrated Statute of Premunire, declares that purchasers of presentations to benefices shall be excluded from the royal protection. We have seen under the succeeding monarchs several other struggles with Rome, which it is unnecessary here to repeat; till at length Henry VIII. dealt the great blow, which wholly overthrew the pontifical power.

II. For several ages prior to the act which transferred to the monarch the monastic revenues, the interests of the parochial clergy had been affected in various ways. Parochial bounds were at

first, as has been already shown, co-extensive with the manor or landed property of the founder: but if a new see were erected within the lordship, or if persons independent of the patron dwelt within the precincts, tithes and offerings might be carried to any neighbouring church, to which such individuals might give the preference. Hence arose an opinion respecting tithes and oblations in general, that it remained entirely at the option of the donor, in what hands and at what place he should deposit them, in return for religious services; a notion which the monasteries turned to their own advantage, by drawing these church emoluments to themselves. These changes, however, did not at the time infringe the rights of the national church; they only enriched some of the clergy by impoverishing others.

The bishops, with a view to provide for the resident clergy, receding from their original claim to a fourth part of the church emoluments, these emoluments were divided by the parish-priests into three portions, instead of the former four; the first for improving the church and parsonage, the second for hospitality and charity, and the third for personal maintenance. Soon, however, the lay patrons detained the two former parts, pretending, indeed, to apply them to their proper uses, but ere long procuring their enfeoffment in themselves and their heirs. In some places the powerful patrons withheld the whole of the præ-

dial tithes, leaving the altarage, of which the smaller tithes, at first voluntary oblations, formed a part, to the parochial minister. These were, strictly speaking, the first impropriations; but even when enfeoffed, they were regarded, sacredly, as held in trust for religious uses.

Again, when the original practice of living and being supported at the collegiate church had ceased, the lay patrons often surrendered the advowson to that body, or to one member of it, or to a monastic society; so that at length, not more than a century after the Conquest, one half of the parish-churches in England came into the gift of cathedrals and religious houses, and were personally served by the members of these societies, who received only an arbitrary portion of the emoluments, usually the small tithes and oblations; the rest of the profits being retained by the presenting body, "*IN PROPRIOS USUS.*" At first the several members of each house officiated, by turns, by lot, by penance; but the bishops afterwards compelled the monastics to remain in their own cloisters, and to settle perpetual vicars in the parishes. This example spread from religious societies to corporate bodies, to secular colleges, and to military orders: still, however, the idea prevailing, that these, as religious societies, might receive and distribute the common treasury of the church: for prior to the reign of Henry VIII. there is no precedent for a mere lay impropriator.

When the smaller tithes and oblations did not amount to a third share, the deficiency was made up by the vicar's receiving a certain part of the great tithe of hay or corn; and the bishop had power to augment this portion, given him by 15 Richard II. ch. 6; and 4 Henry IV. ch. 12 *.

III. As William the Conqueror had converted the possessions of the bishops and great abbots into baronies, these dignitaries attended the parliament; and either sent men to the wars, or paid an escuage. But the great body of the clergy, still holding, as in the Saxon times, by *francalmoigne*, were not assessed by the civil power; whatever contribution they paid to the state came either in the form of a tax laid on them for the use of the king, or of a benevolence which their bishops compelled them to grant, but which was in no case to be regarded as a precedent. When Henry the First divided his parliament into two houses, it was his intention to have a third estate of the clergy, that their subsidies might be obtained in a less precarious manner; and accordingly he summoned the ecclesiastical body to assemble and tax the spiritualities. Hoping to avoid taxation, the clergy alleged, that they could not meet to make laws for the church, under the sanction of any temporal authority; and after some contention, the archbishop was ordered

* Kennett. Wake.

to summon the clergy of his province to assemble in convocation. To comply with the writ of the sovereign, or to disregard it, remained at the archbishop's option; but they could not object to meet according to his summons, as a competent ecclesiastical authority, while they at all times denied the right of the king to convoke them.

Thus convened, the clergy did not constitute one state of the realm, but two separate ecclesiastical synods, each assembled under its proper archbishop; each making canons for its own province, and severally giving aids and taxes to the king. They met, in short, as parliaments in their respective provinces, the archbishop presiding as king, the suffragans and mitred abbots sitting as peers, and the deans, archdeacons, and two proctors for each chapter, resembling the parliamentary burghers; while the proctors for the inferior clergy of each diocese, represented the knights of the shire.

By the act of submission, 25 Henry VIII. ch. 19, the clergy promised, and were bound not to assemble in convocation for the purpose of making canons, without the royal license. In the province of Canterbury two proctors only were returned for each of the dioceses; two having been chosen out of each archdeaconry by the rectors, vicars, and perpetual curates, and two out of these being elected by the archdeacons to sit in convocation. But as the synod of York would

have been too small under such an arrangement, the latter selection was dispensed with, and two proctors sate for each archdeaconry throughout the province. Thus, in the latter synod, the parochial clergy had as great an interest as those of the cathedral: while in Canterbury, twenty-two deans of Westminster and Windsor, twenty-four proctors of the chapters, and fifty-three archdeacons, being in all ninety-nine cathedral ecclesiastics, were mingled with only forty-four proctors for the parochial clergy, in the lower house of convocation. Anciently the inferior clergy sate in the same house with the bishops and abbots; a custom which continued in York; but in the province of Canterbury they formed two separate bodies.

Thus the convocation was the ecclesiastical parliament of the kingdom; the church of England assembled by its representatives. They could make constitutions which bound the spiritual body, as the parliament made laws for the nation. They sate for the most part at the same time with the parliament; but could continue their session after that body had risen. Henry VI. granted to the members, the privileges enjoyed by those belonging to the parliament. Together with their domestics they were exempt from arrest during their sitting; and proxies were allowed in the upper house. In some points nevertheless they were inferior to the parliamentary body, as

consisting of king, lords, and commons. They were unable to alter the law, or to abridge the royal prerogative: their constitutions did not bind the temporalty, while the clerical body, except in money matters, were bound by acts of parliament. Nor did their tax ever pass into a law, until it had received the consent of the legislature. Anticipating the course of events, we may here subjoin, that the clergy continuing to tax themselves in convocation, their assembling for that purpose did not cease until the passing of the act 16 Charles II. ch. 4, when their last subsidy was voted. It was then deemed expedient to assess them by a land and poll tax, as had been done during the long parliament: and soon afterwards, in 1664, they tacitly waved their privilege of self-taxation, permitting themselves to be included in the money-bills prepared by the commons. Ever since that period, but not before, they have voted as freeholders in electing knights of the shire. At that time also terminated the history of convocations; for although rarely assembled for form's sake, down to the year 1700, no synodical act was afterwards passed. The convocation, however, has not been formally abolished; and may still be assembled at the will of the sovereign for the purpose of enacting provincial councils.

IV. It will not perhaps be deviating widely from our subject, to offer, in this Appendix, some account of the religious orders, abolished in the

reign of the eighth Henry. Of these, the first in point of time were the Benedictines; who were also, from the colour of their habits, termed the Black monks. Deriving their name from St. Bennet of Narsia in Italy, who died A. D. 480, they came, in the year 596, into England, where they were found in vast numbers, both nuns and friars. To this order belonged all the cathedral priories, excepting only that of Carlisle. Odo, abbot of Cluni, reformed St. Bennet's rule, A. D. 612; and his order, the Clugniacs, received their first house in England, which was built at Lewes in Sussex, A. D. 1077, as a gift from William, the son-in-law of the Conqueror. Twenty-seven English priories or cells, belonging to this branch of Benedictine monks, were all governed by foreigners. At Grandmont, in the Limosin, A. D. 1076, arose a different branch of the same order, denominated the Grandmontines: these were brought into England by Henry I. but appear only to have possessed three houses, Abberbury in Shropshire, Cressewell in Herefordshire, and Grosmont or Eskdale in the north riding of York. The Carthusians were Benedictines distinguished by severe austerities; eating no flesh, wearing hair shirts, and walking only in their own grounds, and that no oftener than once a week. From Chartreux in Grenoble, where they had been instituted A. D. 1080, Henry II. brought them to England a century afterwards, and assign-

ed them their first house at Witham in Somersetshire. They had nine houses in different parts of the country: their chief mansion lying in that part of London, which is still, by corruption, termed the Charter-house. They wore a white and plaited under-habit; but the cloak was black, indicating their parentage.

Branching from the same Benedictine stock, the Cisterrians, or White friars, if we may judge from their eighty-five houses, existed in great numbers in England. These arose at Cisteaux in Burgundy, A.D. 1098; from whence, thirty years afterwards, they passed into this country, and planted their first colony, at Waverly in Surrey.

“Black spirits and white; blue spirits and grey;
Mingle, mingle, mingle, you that mingle may:”

seems an idea borrowed from the Benedictine monks: for, besides the subdivisions already mentioned, they also gave rule to the Savignians, or Fratres Grisei; that is, from the hue of their garment, Grey-friars. Vitalis, who had founded them at Savigni in France, 1105, arrived in England A. D. 1120: but their houses were few, and soon united to those of their Cisterrian brethren. To the Tironcences, who had sprung up at Tiron, 1109, was given, 1126, a single abbey in Wales, namely, St. Dogmael's, with its dependent priory at Pile, and cell at Caldey: while St. Peter's in

York belonged to a society of Scottish monks, denominated the Culdees, or Cultores Dei.

Besides the monks, another order of the religious received the name of canons, from *κανων*, *regula*, in consequence of living according to a prescribed form. Of these, the two descriptions, the regular and secular, have been frequently alluded to in the course of the preceding narrative. The regular canons lived in societies under one roof, having a common dormitory and refectory: but not subjecting themselves to regulations so strict as those which bound the monks. Their chief rule being that prescribed by Austin, who was bishop of Hippo in Africa, A. D. 395, they were denominated Augustines, or canons regular of St. Augustine. They first entered England A. D. 1105; and, if we include Wales, possessed throughout the country one hundred and seventy-five houses of canons and canonesses. The former wore a beard and a cap, but submitted their heads to the full tonsure: in other respects they were attired in a long black cassock, with a white rochet and a black cloak and hood. As they adopted more or less of St. Austin's rule, they were subdivided into the Premonstratenses, Gilbertines, and canons of the Holy Sepulchre: thirty-five religious houses belonging, in England, to the first, and twenty-five to the second of these families of the order. As to the secular canons, they differed only from common priests, in living

agreeably to a few local statutes: they had their conversation in the world, in seculo, from whence their name, and performed the spiritual offices of the church to the people.

Nuns of various orders had likewise settlements in this country; who were veiled, and wore habits denoting, by their colour, the rules to which they respectively submitted. Besides several sorts, owning allegiance to St. Austin, three houses, the chief of them that of Nuneaton in Warwickshire, belonged to the nuns of Fontevrault, who came from Poitiers, A. D. 1161; and professed themselves improved Benedictines. Four houses were possessed by the poor Clairs, or minoresses of St. Clair, a branch of the Franciscan order, which arose at Assize in Italy, about the year 1212. Of their principal mansion, which lay without Aldgate, the street called the Minories still presents a memorial. At a later period in the fourteenth century, St. Bridget, a native of Nericia in Sweden, gave name to the Brigittines, of the Augustine order, to whom Henry V. A. D. 1414, gave their only English house, that of Sion in Middlesex, where persons of both sexes resided in the same society.

Of friars there were several orders, amongst which the most remarkable were the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Carmelites; known more commonly, according to the colour of their habits, as Black, Grey, and White friars. Forty-three

houses belonged in England to the Dominicans, who acknowledged the Augustine rule, and were called preaching friars. These came from the continent 1221, and established their principal residence in Oxford. The Franciscans, or, from their humility, the Minor friars, arrived in 1224, and had their first house in Canterbury and their second in London. At the dissolution, they were found to possess fifty-five houses, having been then subdivided into observants and conventuals. Alnwick in Northumberland, and Aylesford in Kent, were the principal residences of the Carmelites; besides which they occupied thirty-eight other houses, in England and Wales. The Matturines, instituted for the redemption of captives, had twelve houses; the Crossed or Crouched friars, from a cross sewed on their backs and breasts, six or seven (one of them in London, where Crutched Friars still records their name); the Eremites, thirty-two; the Bethlehemites, two; the Bonhommes, two; and the order of the Sack, from their sackcloth, one.

But, in addition to so many institutions, purely ecclesiastical, there were three orders of a mixed nature, denominated military orders, who drained the wealth and devoured the fruits of England. These were the Knights Hospitallers, the Knights Templars, and the Knights of St. Lazarus of Jerusalem: the first deriving their name from their hospital built in Palestine, for the en-

tertainment of pilgrims visiting the holy sepulchre; the second, who protected strangers in the Holy Land, from robbery, being distinguished by having had their first residence near the temple at Jerusalem; and the third originally established for the relief of the impotent and sick.

Many facts recorded in our preceding pages, will be more clearly illustrated, and, it is presumed, rendered more interesting, in the minds of general readers, by subjoining some account of the religious houses and establishments possessed by these various orders.

An ABBEY was the residence of a religious association, superintended by an abbot or abbess. We find that in the twenty-ninth year of Henry III.'s reign, sixty-four abbots and thirty-six priors had seats in the English parliament: but their numbers were reduced by Edward I. to twenty-five abbots and two priors; who, with two other abbots afterwards added, had seats in the house of lords: the prior of St. John of Jerusalem being the last spiritual, but the first lay baron. In the CONVENTUAL CATHEDRALS, the bishop held the place of an abbot, and occupied, as the place of highest honour, the first stall at the right hand of the entrance into the quire: as is still the practice at Ely, and was till lately at Durham and Carlisle. Collegiate churches were the houses of secular canons, who lived under a dean, provost, warden, or master, and had different officers for

the performance of divine service. Of priories there were two sorts, the one, where the prior was chosen by the convent, and the other called cells, subordinate to some neighbouring abbey. Besides these there were alien priories, subjected to foreign visitation, and divided in like manner with the former.

Preceptories were manors of the Knights Templars, and commanderies, the same of the Hospitallers. Hospitals, at first inns for pilgrims, became afterwards houses of relief for the poor and impotent. Chauntries were small altars or chapels, in the aisles of cathedrals or parochial churches, and endowed with sums for the maintenance of priests, who should perform daily masses for the souls of the founders. Of the free chapels, exempt from the ordinary's jurisdiction, some, built originally on demesne lands, had passed with them before the Reformation into the hands of subjects: whilst others belonged to the great barons, who had established them by grants from the crown.

In the larger religious houses, besides the abbot and prior, who lived in the greatest pomp, there was a long roll of inferior officers, whose barbarous names sufficiently denote their duties. Amongst these we find, the eleemosynarius, the pietantiarius (whence the English word pittance), the camerarius, the cellerarius, the thesaurarius, the hostitarius, the infirmarius, the refectionarius, the coquinarius, the gardinarius, and the porta-

rius. There was a magister operis, who superintended and repaired the buildings; a sacrista, who had the charge of the sacred robes and vessels; and a precentor, who directed the church music, and kept the seal and chapter-book. The writers transcribed manuscripts; and the annalists wrote the records of the year.

Of these various edifices and establishments of superstition, the downfall had commenced previous to the time of Henry VIII. The Knights Templars were suppressed in the year 1312, and their revenues were bestowed, thirteen years afterwards, on the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem. Several alien priories, in 1390, were bought by William of Wickham, and settled on his new college at Oxford. Nearly half a century afterwards, Chicheley, founding All Souls, obtained for it the revenues of several ancient priories. In like manner, Eton, and King's College, Cambridge, were endowed by Henry VI. with alien priories, A. D. 1441. Some priories and hospitals were settled on Magdalene College, Oxford, when built, in 1459, by Wainfleet, bishop of Winchester; and in 1497, Jesus College, in Cambridge, was erected with the revenues of the suppressed nunnery of St. Rhadegunde in the same county. In the earliest years of the sixteenth century, Christ's and St. John's Colleges in Cambridge were built out of suppressed religious houses; as was Brazenose in Oxford, out of the priory of Cold Norton; and

lastly, Wolsey, in the earlier part of Henry's reign, had obtained from the king and pope permission to abolish thirty houses, for the support of his establishments in Ipswich and Oxford.

These partial suppressions seemed well calculated to apprise the monks of their insecure tenure in the possessions remaining to them, and, indeed, to afford them a certain assurance, that their general ruin could be at no great distance.

This was chiefly accelerated by two causes—Wolsey's desire to promote the interests of literature, and the still more laudable zeal of Archbishop Cranmer, for destroying the nurseries of superstition. To these we may add the rapacity and profusion of Henry, and his hatred of the monks for their opposition to his divorce. The whole number of houses suppressed at different times may be exhibited in the following table.

Lesser monasteries, 27 Hen. VIII. c. 28.	374
Greater ditto, 31 Hen VIII. c. 13.	186
H. of Hospitallers, 32 H. VIII. c. 4. &c.	48
Colleges, 37 Hen. VIII. c. 4. - - - -	80
Hospitals, ditto - - - - -	110
Chauntries and free chapels, ditto -	2374
	3182

Of these several houses the yearly revenues at the dissolution have been thus computed:

	£.	s.	d.
Greater monasteries - - -	104,919	13	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Such lesser as have been valued	29,702	1	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
House of Hospitallers in London	2,385	12	8
Houses of ditto in the country -	3,026	9	5
Friaries, such as were valued -	751	2	0 $\frac{1}{4}$
	£140,785	0	3 $\frac{1}{4}$

But, besides this sum, must be taken into the account, the lesser houses not valued, the chauntries and free chapels, the plate and the jewels. If we consider how greatly land has been increased and money diminished in value, we shall perceive the revenues and possessions of ecclesiastics to have been immense. According to Sir William Temple, William the Conqueror found a third part of the lands of the kingdom in the possession of the clergy; and in the reign of Richard II. they usually contributed to the state, in this proportion. By the intermediate reductions which we have stated above, it was found at the dissolution that the revenues of the religious, taken in a body, had decreased to a fourth part of the income of the realm: of which, Mr. Collier says, the monastics did at no time possess more than a tenth.

Out of the general revenues, when transferred to the crown, pensions were paid to the religious persons who had been dismissed

from the greater monasteries; six new bishoprics were established, and deanries and chapters added to eight of the old ones: professorships were endowed in both the universities; the poor Knights of Windsor pensioned; and, as we have formerly stated, the magnificent chapel of King's College erected; and Christ Church and Trinity Colleges founded; the former in Oxford, the latter in the sister university.

Subjoined is a computation of the number of persons sent abroad in a state of beggary throughout the country, when the various religious houses were suppressed.

From the lesser monasteries	- - -	10,000
Colleges and hospitals	- - - - -	5,347
Greater monasteries	- - - - -	30,000
One for each chauntry and free chapel		2,374
		47,721

Upon the whole, although the monasteries were not without advantages, as inns, hospitals, schools, libraries, studies, retreats, and corrodiess or provisions for decayed servants, they were hurtful, by their appropriations, to the secular and parochial clergy, as they were to the nation, by their encouragement of celibacy, their yielding sanctuary to offenders, their withholding unprofitable

hands from the occupations of trade; and England, had they continued, would have become a nation of monks, sunk in indolence, ignorance, and weakness, and a prey to any invader.

CHAPTER VI.

THE REIGN OF EDWARD VI.

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I. IN countries where the advocates of the reformed principles were at variance with the civil power, a wild and fanatical spirit of devotion succeeded to the superstition of exterior observances: but in England, the magistrate presiding over the innovation, it was carried on with much

greater prudence and temper : a due subordination was observed in the sacred orders ; and decent ceremonies necessary to fan the flame of devotion, were wisely retained in the ritual.

The education of the young monarch, Edward VI. having been committed to Protestants, and Somerset the protector favouring the reformed system, the new doctrines rapidly gained ground ; still farther promoted by the temperate and reasonable zeal of Cranmer, as well as by the bold arguments uttered by Latimer, Hooper, and many other able fathers of the church. Not less auspicious to the progress of reformation was the general good will of the people, whose attachment to the religion of liberty, illumination, and reason, was strengthened by beholding many of the church livings bestowed, in lieu of pensions, on ignorant and profligate persons, who had lately been expelled from the monasteries ; and who supplied the poverty of impropriated parsonages by such devices as trentals, masses sold at a groat, and an eager grasping after pluralities. Under these favourable circumstances Cranmer exerted his influence, to procure the omission of those masses and obits, which had been appointed in the will of the late king, to be sung for his soul in St. George's chapel, in Windsor. As several of the prelates were publicly known to be still attached to the ancient religion, the archbishop, at the same juncture, judged it wise to set the example to the bench of taking out a fresh commis-

sion, to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction, "*quamdiu se bene gesserit.*" This measure however was carried no further than a prudent regard for safety demanded: for all the new bishops created in this reign received their appointments for life.

II. A. D. 1547. Innovations, nevertheless, were strenuously opposed by Gardiner, Bonner, and Tonsal: while the Princess Mary, instigated by these ecclesiastics, protested against the making of any alterations during the minority of the young king. But the reformers were too powerful to be prevented by these efforts, from obtaining a general visitation of the churches within the English realm; preparatory to which, the injunctions formerly issued by the vice-regent Cromwell, were revised; and several new regulations instituted. Agreeably to these rules, the appointed visitors proceeded to perambulate the whole kingdom; accompanied by a preacher, whose office it was to justify their conduct, and to reason the people out of their superstitions*. Wherever images were found as objects of worship, they were publicly committed to the flames; since it was difficult to draw a line in the minds of the vulgar, betwixt paying them respect, and bowing to them in adoration; the less violent measure which was at first proposed. Sprinkling with holy water, bell-ringing, and lighting candles, though all still retained, were

* Fuller, Heylin, Sparrow, Collier.

pronounced to be of no efficacy in driving away evil spirits. With a view to abolish the notion of a sacrifice in the mass, high altars were changed into common tables; in justification of which it was given out, that our Saviour instituted the Lord's supper at table; that he is only to be commemorated and partaken of by faith, not sacrificed, as on an altar, anew; and that in the first Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, x. 21, his supper is called the Lord's table. To this measure Day and Heath objecting, on the ground of a passage in the Epistle to the Hebrews, xiii. 10, in which the Apostle uses the expression, "We have an altar," were deposed from their bishoprics of Chichester and Worcester. It was ordered, that the Bible of the larger volume, with Erasmus's paraphrase on the Gospels, should be placed in every church. This preference was shown to the work of Erasmus, as least likely to do violence to the popular feelings, that divine having defended the Reformation, and afterwards, as was generally supposed, having died in the Catholic faith. The first and second lessons, the epistle and gospel at high mass, and all passages of Scripture used in visiting the sick, were commanded to be read in English; in which language the people, on coming to confession, were required to give an account of the principles of their religion. The religious observance of the whole of the sabbath, petitions for the king as supreme head, and prayers for de-

parted souls were strictly enjoined. Alms-giving, and reconciliation between neighbours, were recommended, as proper substitutes for pilgrimages and image-deckings. The bishops were entreated and enjoined by the visitors, to preach four times a year in their respective dioceses, and to be very careful in confining their letters of orders to persons duly qualified, and their licenses for preaching throughout the kingdom to such ministers only as taught the new discipline, and improved doctrine, in a reasonable and respectable manner. Forfeiture of the right of presentation to the king, was appointed as the punishment of simoniacal bargains; and finally, with a professed view of avoiding contentions for precedence, though in reality to abolish a superstitious custom, processions about churches were discontinued.

On these orders various censures were passed. In particular, the two relating to the Sabbath, and to simoniacal presentations, were loudly complained of; but without entering into a defence of either, it may be sufficient to observe, that since the world and its vanities were manifestly on the side of the objectors, the presumption is strong against the justice of their cavils.

Though Cranmer, set at liberty from a subjection of gratitude or timidity to the opinion of his late master, thus proceeded in the great work of reformation more boldly than in the former reign, he still judged it the most effectual means

of ensuring final and permanent success, to make gradual inroads on the ancient superstition, and to wean the people slowly from their errors; hoping, that by the divine blessing he should escape opposition, by fully unfolding the reasons of every advance, that from time to time might be judged expedient. Conformably to this sagacious opinion, several ceremonies and ordinances, of which the ultimate abolition was contemplated, were for the present left untouched, but so far softened down by explanations and other devices, as to be deprived, in a great measure, of their evil tendency. Two candles were permitted to remain before the altar, and pronounced to be emblems, whose design was to signify, that Christ is the light of the world. While the sprinkling with holy water was retained, the clergy were enjoined to cry with a loud voice, during the ceremony, "Remember Christ's blood-shedding, of which the sprinkling cleanses from sin:" and in like manner, before delivering to the people the sacramental bread, they were ordered to pronounce the following verses:

"Of Christ's body this is a token,
Which on the cross for our sins was broken;
Wherefore if of his death you will be partakers,
Of vice and sin you must be forsakers."

With the same intent as the holy kiss was now appointed to be laid aside, the pax or piece of wood

bearing a figure of our Saviour, was suffered to remain for the present, and carried about to be kissed by the people: the minister pronouncing before the church-door, "This is a token of joyful peace which is betwixt God and men's consciences. Christ is alone the peace-maker, who commands peace betwixt every man and his brother."—How judicious this gradual admission of the light, after couching the blind multitude! and how highly does it elevate the character of Cranmer, when contrasted with the violent measures of John Knox!

III. While the visitors, proceeding through the six circuits, into which the kingdom had been divided, met with little opposition to their enforcement of these injunctions, except from Bonner and Gardiner, other measures equally judicious, and favourable to the great cause of reformation, were not neglected. The Liturgy was subjected to a revisal: homilies, consonant to the new principles, and recommending an union of faith and holiness, being the twelve first in the present book of that name, were composed by Cranmer, and appointed to be publicly read: the communion in both kinds was allowed to the laity; the displaced and discontented monks, many of whom the court of augmentations had presented to benefices in order to save the payment of their pensions, were prohibited from haranguing in the parish-churches: while liberty of preaching by

license was granted to the Protestant ministers : the celibacy of the priests was no longer enjoined ; and, what afforded the highest satisfaction of all, the bloody act of the six articles was repealed ; in consequence of which the prisoners confined under its authority, among whom were Coverdale and Hooper, were set at liberty. In the lower house of convocation fifty-three persons voted in favour of permitting the marriage of priests ; and twenty-two for their ancient celibacy.

Wakes and Plough-mondays were now suppressed, much to the discontent of the gross rabble, “ who thought that religion was become a dull business ;” but greatly to the satisfaction of reasonable Christians, who rejoiced over the fall of such remnants of heathenism.

IV. A petition was this year presented by the clergy to parliament, though without success, praying that the lower house of convocation might be admitted to sit with the commons, agreeably to ancient usage ; or, if this were not granted, at least that no bills affecting the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical body, should pass without their assent. In former times, the mandate sent to the bishop directed him to give notice of the approaching parliament to ALL the clergy in his diocese ; that the prior, dean, and archdeacon, in their persons, the chapter by one, and the clergy by two proctors, might sit in that

assembly *. This usage, which began to be recorded in the time of Edward I. continued until the reign of Henry VI.; but attendance being burdensome to the inferior clergy, their presence was dispensed with by succeeding princes, who were satisfied with their making their pecuniary grants in convocation. When the ecclesiastical body, perceiving their power diminishing, now desired to recover their ancient right, they found it superseded by the long custom of voluntary absence, and dispensation converted into exclusion. The existence of that right, however, is still further demonstrable from circumstances of a later date; for when ecclesiastical canons, made by the king and convocation, were in James I.'s reign pronounced to be as binding as if they had been enacted by parliament, it was supposed that the clergy had anciently formed part of the latter assembly, and had carried their legislative privilege into convocation. In the reign of Henry VII. and even down to the year 1640, the bishops sent notices to the deans and archdeacons, who sate in parliament by their proctors. At present (occasion may here be taken to observe), while the bishops hold their seats among the peers as barons, the clergy are altogether excluded from the lower house. The influence of patronage, and the retired and holy

* Wake on the Church.

character of ecclesiastics, may be sufficient reasons, it is true, for their being prohibited from entering the house of commons as ordinary representatives; but surely do not explain the cessation of their privilege of being represented as a body by their proctors; a privilege which, we find, belonged to them, even when they assembled separately in convocation.

V. About the year 1548, the celebrated John Calvin, despairing of the Protestant cause in Germany, and assuming the authority of an apostle, made a tender of his services in a letter to Cranmer, towards establishing new regulations for the reformed church of England. On the archbishop's declining this proposal, the reformer of Geneva next addressed himself to Somerset, whom he prevailed on to obtain for him considerable influence, in the revision of the Liturgy which was soon afterwards undertaken.

VI. This work was introduced by two measures, of which it may be proper to give a previous account. A committee of bishops was appointed to draw up an order for administering the holy sacrament: in this order, of which the latter part, written in English, is the same with the form still used, private confession is left indifferent, being simply recommended, agreeably to the opinion of Erasmus, who affirms, that the Apostle Paul enjoins us to confess our sins one to another; that the mortification sustained by our pride in

submitting our thoughts to a priest, will naturally render us more guarded in future; and that in private confession we become thoroughly acquainted both with the degrees and the danger of our guilt. It cannot be denied, indeed, that for unburdening the laden bosom, for solving doubts, for deliverance from perplexities, and for exposing the flatteries of self-delusion, secret communication with a spiritual guide is a practice worthy of encouragement; provided that at all times every idea be dismissed from the mind of the confessing penitent, of the priest's ability to absolve sins; or to administer profit in any other manner than by religious counsel and comfort. In the prayer beginning with the words, "We do not presume," expressions occur which seem to intimate that the bread is appropriated to the bodies, and the wine to the souls of communicants; "that our sinful bodies may be made clean by his body, and our souls washed through his most precious blood." A spiritual presence of Christ's body and blood in the consecrated sacramental elements, was asserted in the same office; but that this was designed to be understood in an entirely different light from transubstantiation, is evident from the fact of Gardiner's being sent, nearly at the same time, to the Tower, for preaching the latter doctrine.

The other measure above alluded to, was the publication of Cranmer's catechism, entitled, "A

short Introduction to the Christian Religion, for the singular Profit of Children and young People." According to Strype, this was only translated ; but Bishop Burnet affirms it to have been entirely composed by the zealous and indefatigable archbishop.

Penance is herein mentioned as a third sacrament, and the power of absolution pronounced to belong to the priesthood, agreeably to the passage in the twentieth chapter of St. John. The divine institution of bishops and priests is set forth ; and private confession is recommended.

VII. The way being now smoothed by these publications, the committee of ecclesiastics prepared a new book for the celebration of divine service ; in which the several uses of Sarum, York, Bangor, Hereford, and Lincoln, were blended and reduced to uniformity. These prudent divines, while they acknowledged and lamented the ridiculous absurdity of the superstitious services prescribed by the old rituals ; of that long list of graduals, missals, legends, processions, antiphonals, hours, pies, psalteries, portoisies, and pontificals, which it consumed one half of life to study, and the other to practise, did not start away to the opposite extreme of leaving public prayer to be conducted by those sudden and wild effervescences of the imagination, which not long afterwards came in vogue, and were termed worshipping by the demonstration of the Spirit.

They resolved to attire religion in a decent garb, equally remote from the gaudiness of superstition, and from an unseemly want of dress or of ornament. They laid it down as a rule, that they should alter nothing, solely for the sake of novelty, and considered that their business was not utterly to destroy, but to brighten what had been rusted by time, and to bring back the service to its pristine standard. The axe, nevertheless, was wisely laid to the root of glaring abuses, of saint-worship, the adoration of the host, the use of an unknown tongue, and compounding with the priest, for past sins, on a death-bed.

In the first ritual, which the reformers at this time promulgated, the offices were all drawn up in English. The order for the morning and evening prayer much resembles that still retained; the confession and absolution are however omitted, and the services begin with the Lord's Prayer. In the Litany occurs a clause, containing a prayer for deliverance from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and from all his detestable enormities. With respect to the communion-service, the commandments are not introduced into it; and the prayer for the whole state of Christ's church contains a faint vestige of purgatory, by commending the blessed Virgin and all departed saints to the favour and mercy of God. The sacramental bread is directed to be unleavened, and to bear no impression; and, lest it should be carried away, and

consecrated to superstitious uses, the priests are commanded to put it into the people's mouths, and to administer it privately to the sick. It is prescribed, that the wine shall be mixed with water, and both the elements marked with the sign of the cross. Prior to the consecration of these sacred symbols, there is also a prayer for the descent of the Holy Ghost. The catechism goes no further than the answer to the question, "What desirest thou of God in this prayer?" Baptism is the least purified of all the services, the rubrics directing crossings on the forehead and breast, exorcisms of the devil, trine immersion, that is, three dip-pings, one on the breast, and one on each side, and lastly, a chrism. If a child shall be found sickly or delicate, sprinkling is ordered as a substitute for immersion. Another rubric, highly worthy of attention, forbids the use of baptism in private houses: an irregularity on which, Bishop Burnet remarks, "by indulging themselves in this piece of idle state, the great carry their pride into the most sacred of all performances;" and Collier, "that if it were not for the shameful irresolution, or the mercenary spirit of some of the clergy, a custom so improper might easily be broken."

A service taken from the fifth chapter of St. James's Epistle is inserted in the office for the visitation of the sick, directing the rite of extreme unction; and in the burial-service, the soul is re-

commended to the mercy of God. On the whole, though the Reformation was thus greatly advanced, room was yet left for further improvement. Mr. Collier, in his strictures on the offices now enumerated *, justifies the frequent use of the cross, and likewise praying for the dead. The high antiquity of the latter usage, he indeed fully proves, in a very elaborate dissertation ; but when he further assigns, as a reason for retaining it, that it does not encourage belief in purgatory, “ since, unless a man die well qualified, he is supposed to derive from it no benefit ;” the weakness of his argument is clearly evident ; for if a man die qualified, the prayer must be altogether unnecessary. It is nevertheless but candidly doing justice to the memory of this learned and able historian, who has been too rashly charged with adherence to the whole of the ancient superstitions, to add, that he distinctly and strongly reprobates the use of the Scriptures in a foreign tongue, lay communion in one kind, transubstantiation, image-worship, extending the canon of Scripture, and asserting the papal authority by divine right, and by pretended succession from St. Peter. Vol. ii. p. 295.

To the Liturgy was prefixed a temperate introduction concerning the meaning and use of ceremonies, being the same with that which opens our

* Vol. ii. p. 257.

Common Prayer Books. It appears, that the committee were at first much and warmly divided, on the question, whether the surplice should be retained or laid aside: some denominating it a rag of popery, and others, an emblem of parity, and a venerable imitation of the Mosaic vestments. It was at length retained, though not, to speak the truth, for either of these pompous reasons; but on a much simpler account—an account too, which the courtiers might well seek to disguise, the necessity of effectually concealing from the eyes of the people, the shabby clothes of an impoverished clergy.

VIII. 1549.—About this period, the Psalms of David, as done into English metre by Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins, the latter an obscure clergyman and schoolmaster of Suffolk, were first adapted to the nasal melody of parish-clerks, throughout the reformed churches of England. It has been observed concerning this celebrated duumvirate, that they had drunk deeper of the Jordan than the Helicon, and that the immortality of their names is much more owing to their piety than their poetry; that two hammers on a smith's anvil would make better music than their rhymes, and that the work seems designed to give efficacy to the apostolic injunction, “Is any merry; let him sing psalms.” Yet, in spite of these sarcasms, there are not wanting individuals, distinguished for piety, learning, taste, and sound judgment,

who prefer the venerable simplicity of their version, notwithstanding all its imperfections, to the laboured stanzas of Tate and Brady, or the diffuse paraphrase of Merrick. In the appropriation of these prosaical measures, thirty-seven only have been attributed to the *Musa pedestris* of Sternhold; the remainder forming the unfading wreath, which decks the tomb of his colleague.

IX. While the commissioners were actively and usefully engaged in clearing away the rubbish of superstition, bills were passed in parliament, for enabling priests to marry, for rendering the service every where uniform according to the directions of the new Liturgy, for regulating the payment of tithes, and for encouraging the fishing trade, by enjoining abstinence in Lent, as well as on all Fridays, Saturdays, and Ember-days. Days of fasting and abstinence, it may here be observed, are strictly conformable to the commands of Scripture, to the usage of the primitive church, and to the dictates of reason and experience, which teach that the passions are likely to be abated by refraining from pampering the body. They are at present, it is to be feared, too much neglected, probably because no particular seasons have been allotted to such exercises by the divine laws; and partly from some notion of pharisaical formality, or ascetic mortification, attached to them. But although it would doubtless be better to neglect them for ever, than to confine their observance

solely to the mummary of gormandizing fish exquisitely dressed, or to other well-known expedients of catholic superstition, the frequency of their abuse affords no reasonable ground for their being laid altogether aside. Some among the clergy are in the habit of discouraging them, and of resting exclusively on the disposition of mind : but might they not prove useful in promoting this “ inward fasting ;” and is there no such text as, “ This ye ought to do, and not to leave the other undone ?”

Visitors were now sent over the kingdom, to enforce the act of uniformity ; and to these, happily, no occasion presented itself for resorting to harsh measures, as the new Liturgy was in general received without opposition, by the laity as well as the sacred body ; the Princess Mary being almost the only recusant. Nevertheless, the doctrine of the real presence proving still too agreeable to the common people, and being taught by the old friars who occupied many livings, Peter Martyr, the professor of divinity in Oxford, and Bishop Ridley, in the sister university, publicly defended the reformed doctrines on this most important question. A full account of Martyr’s disputation may be found in Fox’s Martyrology ; and the second volume of Bishop Burnet’s History contains a statement of the arguments against the real presence*.

* Martyr, Bucer, and Fagius, came over from the continent at the same time, namely, in the year 1547, on the decline of the Lutheran cause in Germany. They were hospi-

The taking in of the waste abbey-lands, though in reality an essential improvement of the country, being felt as a temporary grievance by the inferior classes, occasioned commotions in different counties, but principally in Devonshire and Cornwall; and as the light of reformation had not yet fully spread into these remote districts, the worldly complaints of the rebels were heightened by their clamours for the restoration of the old religion. They were still warmly attached to their beads and Ave Maria's, to the worship of images, and the doctrine of purgatory: while the monks encouraged their anxiety for the recovery of trentals, or thirty yearly masses for the dead, an usage which, like the silver shrines of Diana, had brought much craft to the workmen. Bonner was suspected, and not without reason, of a secret inclination to favour these discontents; in consequence of which the council prescribed to him the outline of a sermon, to be preached at Paul's cross: wherein, amongst other matters, he was required to pronounce, that the Cornish rebels were for ever

tably received in Cranmer's house. Bucer and Fagius were sent to Cambridge. (Burnet, vol. ii.) The Lutherans held the doctrine of consubstantiation: the Helvetians, under Zuingle, regarded the sacrament only as a commemoration of the death of Christ. Peter Martyr was of the latter opinion; but Bucer struck out a middle way, construing the words, "real presence," as signifying, "effectual presence."—*Burnet, vol. ii.*

damned in the burning of hell, and that as entire an obedience was due to the young king, as if he were not a minor; a doctrine contradictory to that employed by the priests, to stir up the ignorant people of the west to rebellion. Having omitted in the pulpit this latter point, although he did not, it seems, object to the charitable expressions contained in the former, he was summoned before commissioners appointed to examine him: in presence of whom he pleaded in his vindication, a defect of memory, and the imperfection of his notes, which, he averred, had truly cited from Scripture, the instances of Solomon, Josiah, Manasses, and other princes; as well as those of the third and sixth Henries, the second and fifth Edwards, and the second Richard, in the English history, all of whom had reigned in their minority. On receiving this confession, the council were about to acquit him; but Latimer having stated that he had heard him say in private, that Edward was fitter for a toast and butter than for making laws, his pretended forgetfulness and negligence proved of no avail. As a singular specimen of the provocations which he sustained, as well as of his method of retorting them in the council, it may not be uninteresting to record the soft contradiction, which he is related to have given to Secretary Smith. This gentleman having told him, in the course of his examination, that his behaviour resembled that of a thief and a traitor; “As

you are Secretary of State," replied Bonner, " I honour you ; but as you are Sir Thomas Smith, you lie, and I defy you." For a deportment so contemptuous under charges thus serious, he was (by a considerable stretch of authority, it must be owned) not only deprived, but imprisoned : and it is not improbable that the recollection of this severity served to increase the natural sourness of his temper, and to exasperate his rage against the reformers, when he rose into power in the subsequent reign. " In prison," according to the historian of the Reformation, " Bonner behaved more like a glutton than a divine ; requesting all his friends to furnish him well with puddings and pies, and giving them all to the devil who did not supply him liberally." To confine two enemies to the cause of truth, so powerful as the prelates of Winchester and London, may perhaps be palliated as a measure of policy ; but the cruel execution of the obscure and wrong-headed fanatic, Joan of Kent, must be admitted by the warmest friends of the Reformation, to have left a deep and indelible stain on the character of Cranmer. This part of his conduct can only be extenuated by our recollecting, that persecution, in that age, was esteemed a test of zeal.

1549.—On the fall of Somerset, which it belongs to civil history to record, the Earl of Warwick assumed the reins of government ; a nobleman, who, accommodating his religion to his interest, found

a profession of protestantism to be the surest way of obtaining influence over the young monarch. Bonner and Gardiner, in consequence of his determination, were disappointed in their hopes of being emancipated from their prison-house. To the see of London, left vacant by the deprivation of the former, the learned and zealous Ridley was removed from Rochester; and Westminster being at this time annexed to his new bishopric, he received £1000 a year out of its rents, the remainder of which, as was intended in the annexation, found their way into the pockets of rapacious courtiers*.

X. 1550.—In the year 1550, a new form of ordination, prepared under the authority of parliament, by six bishops and as many inferior divines, received confirmation from the great seal. These ecclesiastics betook themselves sedulously to the removal of existing superstitions, agreeably to the models of such ancient pontificals as were burdened with the fewest ceremonies; confining the new service to the two simple rites of imposition of hands, and of prayer; though in strictness we ought to say, to the laying on of the right hand, the other being employed, according to the rubric, in delivering to the priest a Bible, and a chalice, containing bread and wine. By the annexed

* From this partial application of the lands of St. Peter, Westminster, to the enriching of the see of London, arose, as is believed, the common proverb of "robbing Peter to pay Paul."

rubrics, the office of a deacon is pronounced to be ministerial, and not sacerdotal ; while the ages requisite for entrance on the different orders, are stated to be, twenty-one for a deacon, twenty-four for a priest, and thirty for a bishop *. The offices for priests and bishops being at that time the same, the historian of the Puritans, in his account of this reign, remarks, that, in the opinion of the early reformers, there were only two ecclesiastical orders, namely, those of deacon and priest, and that bishops were regarded by them as belonging to the priesthood, and only holding a different rank in the same order. Let it be remembered, however, that the act, 3d and 4th of Edward VI. is stated to be an act for the CONSECRATION of bishops, and ORDINATION of priests and deacons. Bishop Burnet, moreover, states, that in the ordination of bishops, the custom of delivering to the prelate a staff, accompanied with the words, “ Be thou a shepherd to the flock of Christ,” made a clear distinction betwixt the two offices. But the existence of this distinction in the minds of the early reformers, is insisted upon at greater length by Mr. Collier. That these fathers considered deacons as a distinct ecclesiastical order, no attempt has been made to deny : and that this was the general opinion of the times, is more fully evinced by the subsequent change of

* Neale, vol. i.

twenty-one to twenty-three years complete, as the age requisite for diaconal ordination.

With respect to the phrase of being moved by the Holy Ghost, which is found in this service, our best divines have pronounced it to signify serious preparation, honest intention, and an humble and earnest resolution of acting suitably to the office solicited, but not to imply any miraculous afflation. “Yet too many,” observes the historian of the Reformation, “consider their vows as being only a ceremony in law, necessary to make them capable of some place of profit, and not as the dedication of their lives and labours to God, and to the gaining of souls*.” The whole of these offices, with a few slight variations, consisting principally of alterations in the bishop’s office, designed as a corrective of the attempt afterwards made, to prove the identity of the functions of bishops and priests, are the same with those used at present in our church.

XI. Hooper, now created bishop of Gloucester, may be regarded as the father of the Non-conformists in this country. Having gone over to Zurich, he imbibed in that city a violent antipathy to the surplice, tippet, and square cap, to all of which he objected previous to his consecration, as Aaronical and symbolizing, as popish and beggarly elements: and although Bucer and Martyr both

* Burnet, vol. ii.

earnestly dissuaded him from opposition in regard to trifles, representing that obedience in indifferent matters was due to the laws of the land; that to the pure all things are pure; that a good use might be made of sacerdotal vestments, as emblems of purity and candour; that it was better to acquiesce, at least until legal authority should alter the obnoxious habits, than to give the enemies of reformation a cause of triumph in the dissensions of its friends—the arguments and remonstrances of these more sensible reformers were found to be submitted in vain; and Hooper continuing pertinacious in his objections, was committed to the Fleet prison. By standing out on these frivolous grounds, while he afterwards without scruple held, together with Gloucester, the neighbouring bishopric of Worcester, in commendam, this venerable father has laid himself too open to the censure, of straining at a gnat, and swallowing a camel. Mr. Neale, in reviewing the present reign, pronounces, that the early reformers were not satisfied with the existing state of church discipline; but it certainly does not appear by what facts such an assertion is capable of being supported. On Hooper's stating his objections, Cranmer was inclined to listen to him, and to surrender his own opinion through a love of conciliation; but Ridley and Goodrich, as Neale himself admits, declared in favour of the established custom,

and fixed the wavering sentiments of the archbishop.

After a short confinement, Hooper complied so far as to consent to wearing his vestments once in some public places, in the cathedral, and in the presence of the king. On this partial submission, an historian * observes, and his opinion has been frequently transcribed: "If the reformer deemed these vestments sinful, he should have refused wearing them at all; if innocent, he ought to have consented, without hesitation or reserve, to the wearing of them on all occasions." This, however, seems hardly fair reasoning: he might have regarded the ornaments as of too little importance to cause his setting an example of disloyalty, or interrupting the uniformity and solemnity of public worship, and yet objected to the use of them on common occasions, as tending to propagate superstition among the people. Such at least is the charitable construction of his conduct; yet, after all, like many other imperfect men, he may have applied this or some equally ingenious self-delusion, to the purpose of effecting a compromise betwixt his conscience on the one hand, and his interest or love of peace with his opponents on the other.

XII. 1551.—The ceremonies of the ancient superstition being removed, a measure which Cranmer had prudently accounted to be the object de-

* Collier.

manding his first attention, the time was now considered as having arrived, for promulgating a body of articles of religion, as a standard of belief for the members of the renovated church. Several publications, investigating the doctrines which these rules of faith were designed to establish, prepared the way for their appearance: and, after having been thus familiarized to the public mind, they at length came forth, digested under forty-two titles, which, however, by means of some trifling alterations, were reduced, in the reign of Elizabeth, to thirty-nine, their present number *. They were framed, as it is thought, principally by Cranmer and Ridley, and then sent for correction to the other bishops. Although appearing with a title which led to the belief, that they had been agreed on by the synod of London, several writers affirm that they never were in fact laid before the lower house of convocation: the archbishop being aware, that many are sufficiently willing to acquiesce in orders, when once established, whom a love of opposition, or the vanity of delivering an opinion, would have hindered from concurring in their establishment.

On these articles, it is remarked by that historian, whose work is one continued sneer at Christianity, and at every thing belonging to it, that

* Burnet, vol. ii. Ditto, Collections, No. LV. Warner, vol. ii.

“ the eternity of hell torments is asserted in them, and that care is also taken to inculcate, not only that no heathen, however virtuous, can escape an endless state of the most exquisite misery, but also that every one who presumes to maintain, that any pagan can possibly be saved, is himself exposed to the penalty of eternal perdition.” In reply, the following considerations may be submitted: First, the articles most certainly do assert the eternity of hell torments, and this for the very best reason in the world, namely, that Jesus Christ, in speaking of the wicked, declares that “ these shall go into EVERLASTING punishment.” Secondly, the articles do NOT assert the eternal and exquisite misery of virtuous heathens; but only state, that no heathen, however virtuous, can expect salvation as the reward of his virtues (and, by the bye, they likewise aver that no CHRISTIAN can expect salvation on the same grounds): only repeating, in both cases, the words of Scripture, that “ there is none other name under heaven whereby men must be saved but the name of Jesus Christ” (John, xiv. 6. Acts, iv. 12): and not denying that heathens, who by conscience make a law to themselves, and act agreeably to its mandates, MAY be saved through Christ, as well as his proper disciples. Lastly, the third statement in Mr. Hume’s charge is altogether false; since no more is asserted than that THEY are to be held

accursed, who say, that the Gospel is unnecessary, and that all religions are an indifferent matter.

XIII. With that anxious zeal which never desists from an undertaking, until the work be susceptible of no higher improvement, the reformers next proceeded to revise anew the lately published book of Common Prayer: to which were now added, the confession and declaratory absolution, while the use of chrisms in confirmation and extreme unction, of prayers for the departed, and of the cross in consecrating the eucharist, were all abolished. A rubric was inserted in the office of the communion, explaining the custom of kneeling at the altar, to be simply an expression of humility, reverence, and gratitude, but by no means an act of adoration. It is true, that our Saviour instituted the sacrament at table; but the Jews having changed the custom of eating their passover from a standing to a sitting posture, without a positive order, it was thought not improper in the Christian church to make a like alteration from a sitting, or rather a recumbent, to a less familiar attitude. The ten commandments, with the intermediate petitions, highly serviceable, as affording to the congregation a pause after the recital of each, for severally remembering and acknowledging their offences against it, were at this time introduced into the communion-office: and thus, with the exception of a few trivial changes, which were found necessary in the reign of Elizabeth, A. D. 1559, the

Liturgy assumed its present appearance. It was in the prospect of this second revision, A. D. 1551, that Calvin was permitted to deliver his sentiments and suggestions, to contemplate which, as communicated in a letter addressed by him to certain of the reformers, may be a matter of no trifling interest. He begins by expressing his unqualified approbation of a subscription to articles of religion: after which he speaks in the following decided terms concerning a form of prayer and a stated catechism: “*Formulam precum valde probō, a quā ne pastoribus discedere in functione suā liceat: primo ut consulatur quorundam simplicitate et imperitiæ: secundo, ut certius constet omnium inter se ecclesiarum consensus: tertio, ut obviam ineatur desultoriæ quorundam levitati, qui novationes quasdam affectant, &c.* Sic igitur statum esse catechismum oportet, statam sacramentorum administrationem, *publicam etiam precum formulam.*” He treats the Gospellers as men of whimsey and enthusiasm, ready to confound all order; and deserving, not less than those who were attached to the ancient superstition, “*gladio ultore coerceri.*” As to the slight mention of the departed in the bidding prayer, he styles it one of the “*tolerabiles ineptiæ;*” but on the whole, he expresses dissatisfaction with the former prayer-book of Edward, as it seemed to retain much stuff and popery. Bucer, a wise, good, and moderate man, objected at the same time to the first Li-

turgy, in a book of twenty-eight chapters: and it is generally supposed to have been the comments of these two illustrious strangers, together with some objections started by Martyr, which led to the new revisal. When finished, it received a sanction from parliament, in an act for the uniformity of prayer, and the administration of the holy sacrament; discharging the first Liturgy, and establishing the second. About the same time, the services were translated into French, for the use of Jersey, Guernsey, and Calais.

XIV. 1552.—While these wise measures were pursued by the reformers, for the regulation of belief and of public worship, Dr. Coverdale published, for the use of English Protestants, his revision of Tindal's translation of the Bible. A dispensation from keeping Sunday holy was granted to the people by parliament, as expedient, on a few extraordinary occasions, and principally in the season of harvest: and it being found that many amongst the inferior classes squandered away both their time and earnings, in following their favourite preachers, on working-days, from one village to another, sermons were prohibited except on Sundays, and on holidays expressly set apart for public worship. Of these days the eves were appointed to be held as fasts; while a separate enactment ordered abstinence from flesh, in Lent and on all Fridays and Saturdays throughout the year. Another bill was passed in this parliament against

usury : and it cannot be denied, that though to prevent the taking of reasonable interest would be unscriptural as well as unjust, since even the Jews were permitted to receive returns for their loans from strangers, it is fitting that the rate of legal interest should be limited, lest the avaricious should take advantage of the necessities of the young and unwary. To satisfy the bishops, who now began to complain that the late innovations had encroached on their jurisdiction, thirty-two commissioners, only four of whom were prelates, were appointed for the purpose of revising the ecclesiastical laws. They were divided into four classes or chambers, each containing four ecclesiastics and four lawyers ; whose labour was facilitated by a sub-committee, also consisting of eight persons. These last were ordered to digest the voluminous matter, and duly to prepare it for the higher board. The associated bodies, however, had little more to do, than to sanction with their approbation the work as executed by Cranmer, who was well qualified by his learning and activity to spare them any further exertion. Although the death of Edward, which unfortunately happened when the code was just ready to receive the royal confirmation, prevented its appearance in the form of a body of laws, it was afterwards published, in the reign of Elizabeth, under the title of "*Reformatio Legum ecclesiasticarum*."

This work was arranged under forty-one titles*, with an Appendix, *De Regulis Juris*. The titles embraced a large variety of highly-important subjects; the chief of which were the two sacraments, heresy, blasphemy, and idolatry. Other articles related to qualifications for orders, preaching licenses, dilapidations, alienations, simony, and lectures in cathedrals. The first four general councils were acknowledged as authoritative, but both councils and fathers were pronounced to be subordinate to the declarations and sense of Scripture. Patrons of livings were forbidden to present their own natural children, and bishops admonished not to institute them. In the same comprehensive code were found titles, concerning the bishop's office, the archdeacon's visitations, ecclesiastical censures, spiritual courts, excommunication, wills, inferior church officers. Plain psalmody was recommended, as congenial to the spirit of Christianity; and preaching in cathedrals in the forenoons prohibited, that the people might not be allured, by the solemnity of the service, to desert their respective parish-churches. An injunction was inserted for explaining the catechism on the afternoons of holidays; and another for examining the consciences of persons announcing their intention of participating the holy communion. Public confession for flagrant offences, followed by absolu-

* Collier, vol. ii. p. 321. Burnet's *Ref. Legum ecclesiasticar.* Andrews's *Contin. of Henry*, vol. i. p. 403.

tion in the presence of the congregation, was mentioned in the code as the legitimate method of receiving back a sinner into the bosom of the church. "It is certain," remarks the historian of the Reformation, regretting the discontinuance of this practice, "that the abounding of vice and impiety flows, in a great measure, from the want of that strictness of censure, which was the glory of the Christian church in the primitive times; and it is a public connivance at sin, that there have not been more effectual ways taken for making sinners ashamed, and denying them the privileges of Christians, till they have changed their ill course of life." We may be permitted to doubt, however, whether in this instance to follow the practice of the apostolic ages would be expedient. A public confession, on many occasions, would too much dismay the timid, and depress the humble; while in the breasts of the congregation it might foster censoriousness, and the self-delusive vice of spiritual pride. In the present age of the church, offences thus compensated would not be so quickly forgotten on earth as forgiven in heaven: long after the Supreme Judge had pardoned, the tribunal of human opinion would continue relentless.

A different class of canons in the *Reformatio Legum*, treated concerning marriage, banns, adultery, and divorce. By the most remarkable among these it was appointed, that all promises or contracts of marriage should be null and void;

that seduction should be compensated either by matrimony, or by the seducer's making over to the ruined victim, one third part of his goods; that long absence or irreconcilable enmity justified divorce; and that, in cases of adultery, a second marriage was lawful only to the innocent party.

XV. A Short Catechism, or Plain Instruction containing the Sum of Christian Learning, was the work which closed the labours of the reformers, in the reign of the sixth Edward. Of this tract, published in the year 1553, the composition has, by some, been ascribed to Alexander Nowel: but Dr. John Poynt, bishop of Winchester, is more generally supposed to have been "the godly and learned man" mentioned as the author in the prefixed injunction, which recommends it to all teachers of youth. It has been reprinted by Bishop Randolph in the *Enchiridion Theologicum*, and may also be found inserted in that valuable collection, *The Fathers of the English Church*. It may be considered as a work containing the ultimate decision of the reformers, and exhibiting the real sense of the English church as at that time established. It is written in the form of a dialogue between a master and a scholar, in which the latter is taught that the Christian religion consists in faith to God, and in charity towards God and our neighbour. It sets out with a practical exposition of the ten commandments, and then pointing out our inability to fulfil them, proceeds to infer

the necessity for a Saviour, thence naturally advancing to an excellent explanation of the Apostles' creed. It denies the bodily presence of Christ in the sacrament; comparing him to the sun, who although really in the heavens, is seen afar off by the human eye, as the Redeemer is by the eye of faith. In speaking of our justification, its words are the following: "With this choice of us by God, is joined, as a companion, the mortifying of our affections and lusts:" and in another part, "Christ is set as an example for us to form our lives by." From the same spirit, it adds, "cometh our sanctification, the love of God and of our neighbour, justice and uprightness of life: all that is true, pure, honest, and good." "If it be a lively and true faith, quickened by the Holy Ghost, she is the mother of all good saying and doing." "Faith cannot be found without works, nor works without faith." In explaining the term, "CATHOLIC" contained in the Creed, it states, as the signs of Christ's church, 1st, pure preaching of the Gospel; 2dly, brotherly love; 3dly, uncorrupted use of the sacraments; and lastly, upright correction and excommunication. This plain instruction is finally wound up, with an exposition of the sacraments and of the Lord's prayer.

XVI. The brilliancy of the prospects opened by so large a variety of judicious regulations and salutary provisions, was, too speedily for the happiness

of the English people, obscured by a truly lamentable event, the premature death of the young monarch, which, for the present, impeded the final establishment of the Reformation. This amiable sovereign had borne his indisposition, which was a consumptive cough, with much patience; and had looked forward to his approaching dissolution, with a Christian firmness and composure. His only source of uneasiness, indeed, was his apprehension on account of the reformed religion, soon likely to suffer from the bigotry of his sister Mary; to obviate which calamity, he drew up letters patent for altering the succession in favour of the eldest daughter of the Dutchess of Suffolk. It now only remained for him in this fleeting world, to offer up prayers for himself and for his subjects; and fervently to supplicate the God to whom he was going, for the preservation of true religion within his realm. In these pious exercises he continued to the last, and at length died the tranquil death of a believer, feebly exclaiming, "I am faint: Lord have mercy upon me, and receive my spirit."

The virtues of Edward the Sixth, who was thus removed from the earth in the sixteenth year of his age, had already been sufficiently manifested to have rendered his early dissolution a subject of deep and universal regret, even although the subsequent changes and misfortunes had not been, with too much reason, anticipated. He did not

less excel, as all the historians have recorded, in the qualities of the mind, than in the dispositions of the heart; and it had further pleased the God of nature to enchase this intellectual and moral gem in a person of singular beauty. In his journal, which has been preserved entire by Bishop Burnet, his knowledge of foreign affairs and of the state of his dominions, particularly of the business of the mint, and the depth and capacity of different harbours, is interspersed with minutes concerning the characters and religious principles of the chief men in the nation. He wrote also, in French, a treatise against idolatry, chiefly consisting of scriptural quotations, and having a preface dedicating the book to the Protector. But to describe his intellectual endowments is wandering into the province of others: to us belongs the task of stating, that, faithful to his word, scrupulous in paying his debts, ever regardful of the petitions of the poor, in all respects devout and virtuous, it is no wonder that in books printed after his death, when flattery had ceased to be of service or avail, the people should delight to call him their Josiah, and at other times, "Edward the Saint."

One or two instances of this monarch's excellent spirit may be here adduced, to justify these titles. At six years old he reprimanded a domestic for stepping on a large Bible to obtain something which lay out of his reach. The heresy of Joan Butcher, or Joan of Kent, already mentioned, con-

sisted in holding that Christ did not take flesh of the Virgin: and in this opinion she persisted with an obstinacy, which could only be explained, as it ought to have been excused, by ascribing it to a weak or disordered intellect. Her jeers and insolence, however, provoked the archbishop to solicit Edward for a warrant to bring her to the stake, since he alleged that errors which struck at the Apostles' creed, deserved in any one to be punished with death: but the young monarch thought, with superior wisdom and humanity, that such extreme severity should be reserved for persons of sounder minds, as well as for those who had enjoyed better opportunities of instruction, and who professed more dangerous doctrines. Having at length, however, permitted himself to be prevailed on by importunity, "I take up my pen," said he, with tears in his eyes, "because I am at present under your authority: but remember, my lord, if I am doing what is wrong, it is you that have to answer for it to God."

Hooper, besides his dislike to the episcopal vestments, had objected to the oath of supremacy, on the ground of its requiring men to swear, not only by God, but by the saints and holy angels: a difficulty which was surmounted by the king's striking out the obnoxious terms of the oath with his own hand, while he was heard to observe, "The objection is a reasonable one: let God be honoured; he is, certainly, the only proper object of appeal."

Shortly before the death of this amiable sovereign, it happened that Bishop Ridley delivered in his presence, an exhortation on the duty of benevolence; and was afterwards sent for by his royal hearer, who told him, that although the sermon was of general application, he considered himself as the person chiefly interested in it*. A plan was accordingly devised and executed, for the erection of three public charities—Christ's hospital, out of the friars' convent, for the education of young and helpless children; Bridewell, founded out of Edward's own palace, for the lodging of wayfaring persons, and the correction of vagabonds; and St. Bartholomew's, as an addition to St. Thomas's hospital in Southwark, a grant made some time before, for the reception of the maimed and diseased. For the better support of these new charities, the hospital in the Savoy was at the same time dissolved. These foundations were all now rendered necessary, as an alleviation of the sufferings of the poor, who, after the subversion of popery, were deprived of the extensive, and, in some respects, excessive succour, which they had been accustomed to receive from the religious houses.

“ Having ratified the indenture for purposes so judicious, so humane, so holy, and endowed the new foundations with a sum most worthy of royal

* See Dr. Parr's Spital Sermon.

bounty, do you wonder, my brethren," says an eloquent preacher, "that, recovering for a while from the languor of a lingering disease, and having before him the prospect of impending dissolution, the sovereign should exclaim, ' Lord, I yield thee
' most hearty thanks, that thou hast given me life
' thus long, to finish this work, to the glory of thy
' name !'

" Within a few days, mute was the tongue which uttered these celestial sounds; and the hand which signed the mandate lay cold and motionless in the dark and dreary chambers of death: but to the fervid ejaculation of a sovereign thus breathing, near his last moments, good will towards men, and triumphantly anticipating the effects of institutions that were to comfort and enlighten so many future generations, would you prefer the dying words recorded of any hero, who perished in the arms of victory? Would not the work in which your founder was thus engaged, be degraded by comparison with those bequests, which sometimes were dictated by the transports of vanity, the terror of superstition, or the agonies of remorse? Surely the pageantries of wealth hide their diminished glory, the splendour of military prowess fades away, the most gorgeous displays of imperial grandeur are quite eclipsed upon the first dawning of such benevolence, rising, as the pro-

phet describes the sun of righteousness, with healing on its wings *."

XVI. Without detracting from the merits of Edward, we may be suffered to lament, not as a fault, but as his misfortune, that weakness of his minority, which, giving free scope to the avidity of his courtiers, proved not less injurious to the revenues of the church, than the rapacity of his father, Henry. The giving away of ecclesiastical preferments, chiefly of prebends and deanries, to laymen, was an abuse not uncommon. The protector, Somerset, enjoyed a deanry, besides four stalls in different cathedrals †.

XVII. While much wealth legally accrued to the crown, in the revenues of chauntry lands, colleges, and free chapels, its dependants were permitted to appropriate to their own use the manors of cathedrals and bishoprics, and the spoil of vacant benefices: nay, the pious Edward himself, it must not be concealed, was suffered by his governors to keep a prebend of St. Paul's for the support of the royal stable; a desecration against which Ridley, like a faithful servant of God, honestly and strongly remonstrated. In many places church-plate, with the exception of a single chalice left for the use of each house of worship, was seized as a superfluous article of pageantry, by the same insatiable and sacrilegious pretenders to reformation; who, it has been said, if they had lived in

* Parr.

† Burnet, Collier, Neals.

the time of king Josiah, would have retrenched the magnificence of the Mosaic worship, and served the Almighty at a frugal rate. Bishop Latimer, indeed, complains in his sermons, that the incumbent was only proprietor in title, while the revenues of churches were seized by the rich laity; that benefices were let out to farm by secular men, or given to their servants for keeping hounds, while the poor clergy were obliged to go out to service, as clerks of the kitchen. This rapacity, added to the scandalous lives of many laymen who professed the reformed tenets, gave rise to a belief that the Protestant party sought robbery more than reformation, and that one chief motive for their desertion of the old religion, was to avoid the irksomeness of confession and penance. Thus were the minds of a large number inclined to favour the proceedings adopted in the subsequent reign.

Amongst the acts of parliament passed under Edward VI. one, already noticed, deserves to be reverted to, prescribing abstinence in Lent: a Christian duty too little practised, but, beyond all question, a reasonable one, whether it be regarded as a mark of humiliation, an exercise of self-denial, or an abatement of passion; as exciting a proper fellow-feeling for the unfortunate, who are compelled to eat the poor and scanty fare of necessity; or, lastly, as furnishing from the coffers of frugality, more ample means for their relief.

Another act, permitting the clergy to marry, may be noticed in closing the history of this reign, for the sake of transcribing the following singular observations: "The church revenues being now impoverished, ecclesiastics were allowed to enter the state of matrimony, when little was left to support it. They might, if they pleased, be legally undone, and starve by act of parliament. But this inconvenience is partly to be attributed to the indiscretion of some of the clergy in dispossessing themselves, and partly to some hardships put on the church in this and in the preceding reign. For as to the statute, it is a commendable provision. It takes off an unjustifiable restriction; it restores the clergy to the common liberty of mankind; and leaves them in the condition allowed by Scripture to the ancient church*."

* Collier.

CHAPTER VII.

THE REIGN OF MARY.

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I. 1553. THE desperate attempt to substitute Lady Jane Grey, in the place of the legal heir of the kingdom, having proved abortive, partly in consequence of Northumberland's unpopularity, and

partly by reason of the public regard for an act of parliament, fixing the succession, which not even an attachment to the Reformation, or respect for the will of the late sovereign, could supersede; Mary, the daughter of Henry VIII. and of Catherine of Arragon, his first queen, assumed the English sceptre. A firm determination to reintroduce popery, the rites of which she had practised during the whole reign of her predecessor, seems to have solely occupied her breast. Ignorant, bigoted, narrow-minded, and choosing to be the queen of a sect, she would have obliterated at once all traces of the Reformation, in a decided aversion to which she had been nurtured by her injured and haughty mother, had not the persuasions of her counselors, and principally of Gardiner, now released from the Tower, and entrusted with the seals as chancellor, convinced her that precipitation would expose the realm to danger, and that her measures would be more effectual, if gradually carried on.

II. It was not long before a wished-for pretext occurred for violating the promise she had openly made, of imposing no restraints on the consciences of her subjects. Bourne, a chaplain of Bishop Bonner, having ventured in a sermon, preached at St. Paul's, to speak in harsh terms of the departed Edward, the impatient and indignant populace arose, and hissed and pelted the accuser of their favourite monarch. In consequence

of this tumult, a proclamation was issued, prohibiting all ministers from preaching or writing, without a special license obtained from the chancellor. A precedent which had occurred in the former reign, was pleaded in justification of this harsh restraint; but without recollecting that the power of licensing was then lodged, at first with the bishop of every diocese, and afterwards with the archbishop of Canterbury, as well as with the king; that the clergy might preach, unlicensed, in their own parishes, and that the proclamation of Edward was ratified by act of parliament. The ministerial order, however, having observed on the present occasion that licenses were granted to none but the advocates of popery, not only continued every where to preach, but vehemently inveighed in their discourses against the revived superstition: an act of contumacy, for which Hooper and Coverdale, along with many other Protestants, were imprisoned. After witnessing this specimen of the reign of bigotry, we need not wonder at the speedy re-appearance of the ancient mummeries, at the marked encouragement and promotion of Roman Catholics, or at the general exclusion of the friends of reformation from all offices and dignities in the state. The Demetree, the carvers and workers in statues, rejoiced in the renewed demand for roods and other graven images, with genuflexions before which the second commandment was once more about to be violated. While Archbishop Holgate, Ridley, and other Protest-

ants, were sent to prison, the Catholic prelates, Bonner, Day, Heath, Vesey, and Tonsal, were, along with Gardiner, reinstated in their sees; and the bishopric of Durham, which had been dissolved by act of parliament, being erected anew by letters patent, the queen now replaced the last of these prelates in his regalities, as well as in his revenue.

III. So intolerant and malignant was the zeal of Mary, that it extinguished in her breast every spark of gratitude. Rogers and Bradford, two ecclesiastics, who had lately saved the life of Bourne at the risk of their own, were imprisoned under the bare suspicion of having instigated the disturbance, which it appeared they had sufficient influence to appease. The venerable Hales, who alone among the judges had persisted in refusing to sign the instrument of Mary's exclusion, harassed by persecution for having charged the magistrates in his circuit to enforce the existing acts concerning religion, was driven into a derangement of his intellects, in which he put a period to his own existence. Fine and imprisonment were the only rewards received by the Protestant chief-justice Montague, who had long, on legal grounds, resisted an alteration of the succession. To crown these instances of royal ingratitude, we may record the treatment experienced by Cranmer, who had formerly diverted the imperious Henry from his avowed purpose of putting Mary to death on account of her determined adherence to the mass.

His present mild behaviour having given rise to a report (chiefly propagated in a letter published by Bonner, who styles him, with his characteristical buffoonery, Mr. Canterbury), that he had agreed, in order to obtain favour with the queen, to read the mass, and to officiate in Latin, he issued forth a positive denial of the charge, attaching it to an offer to vindicate the Reformation, in any public conference which might be held with its enemies. Being, in consequence of this boldness, summoned before the star-chamber, the resolute father, without the slightest hesitation, announced his intention of affixing his manifesto to the doors of all the churches within the realm. His friends now perceiving the storm which threatened him, advised him to retire beyond the seas; but Cranmer was no Demas, and magnanimously replied, that although he would not by any means dissuade private individuals from consulting their personal safety, such a measure would be highly unbecoming in himself; and that he was resolved and prepared to lose his life, sooner than he would basely desert the good cause, which he had hitherto taken so active and leading a part in advancing. Gardiner and his other enemies were at first satisfied with committing him, together with Latimer and several persons of inferior note, to the Tower; but being implicated with Lady Jane Grey in the charges of high treason, and of levying war against the queen, he was afterwards attainted, and deprived of his arch-

bishopric. It was, however, judged prudent to avoid incurring popular odium, by remitting the capital part of his punishment; but Mary, cruelly and coldly vindictive, and still remembering that he had been the chief instrument in dissolving her mother's marriage, cherished, in preserving him, the design of taking away his life at a more opportune period, and in a manner which should carry the appearance of zeal against heresy, rather than of personal resentment.

IV. Popish councils having now obtained the ascendant, the arm of savage bigotry, which spares neither the living nor the dead, was stretched out against those illustrious foreign Protestants, who had been invited into the kingdom in the late reigns, by the promising dawn of reformation. While the bones of Bucer and Fagius were dug up, and buried on a dunghill, Peter Martyr was permitted to quit the kingdom, and Alasco with his congregation, commanded to do so. They were followed at different times by about eight hundred English reformers, among whom the most remarkable were, the Bishops Barlow, Coverdale, Cox, Grindal, Sandys, Horn, and Jewell, either exiles or voluntary refugees, together with several eminent unmitred divines, chiefly the learned Nowel, Fox, the author of the Martyrology, and lastly, the celebrated John Knox, the father of the Scottish reformation.

V. A solemn mass opened the first parliament held after the accession of the new sovereign; but

only two bishops, it appears, attended, and they both left the house as soon as the service commenced *. In consequence of the artful or violent measures employed to obtain a majority in the house of commons, of the suppleness of the temporal peers, and the deprivation or imprisonment of many Protestant bishops, Mary experienced but little difficulty in carrying her schemes into execution. The declared illegitimacy of Henry's marriage with Catherine was reversed; the act of reversion containing several reflections on Cranmer, sufficient to warn him of the delicate ground on which he stood. This measure, while it pronounced Mary to be the rightful heir of the crown, owned by implication the papal supremacy, since, if the marriage betwixt the parents of the queen were good, it obtained its validity from the dispensation of Julius II. Indeed, we need hardly wonder at the impatience of Mary to revive the papal authority, when we remember that its revival strengthened her title; that her bigotry was impelled by her interest. Shortly after, by a bill sent down from the lords, the various acts for permitting lay communion in both kinds, for authorizing the first and second Liturgies of Edward, for diminishing the number of festivals, and for allowing the marriage of priests, were all repealed at a blow; and thus was the Reformation thrown back, in

* Burnet.

point of doctrine, to the state in which it had existed in the last year of Henry VIII.

VI. In the convocation, which met at the same time with the parliament, and which, like that assembly, was summoned by writs, wherein Mary's dread of advancing too rapidly, against the current of public disapprobation, was manifested in her still retaining the title of supreme head of the English church, equal pains had been taken to secure a majority, by the election of pliant representatives of the inferior clergy. By order of the queen, the members were chiefly occupied in discussing the doctrine of transubstantiation; and although six members, deans and archdeacons, contended with equal courage and ability, that as we are directed to communicate in REMEMBRANCE of Christ, the very term remembrance necessarily implies the absence of the individual remembered; that in the eleventh chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, the eucharist is called BREAD, AFTER consecration, and that the two passages, Matt. xxviii. 20, "Behold, I am always with you unto the end of the world;" and, Mark, xiv. 7, "Me ye have *not* always;" can only be reconciled by referring the latter to the bodily presence of the Saviour, their reasonings were borne down by prejudice and clamour, and the real presence in the eucharist was once more asserted. As no satisfactory answer, however, could be given in defence of this decree, against the eloquent and per-

suasive arguments of the minority, the shameless prolocutor contented himself with exclaiming, "All this may be true, or not; but though they have the word, we have the sword *."

VII. If any circumstance were now wanting to apprise the reformers of the calamities about to ensue to their cause, it was speedily furnished in the certain intelligence of a treaty between Mary and the Pope. Cardinal Pole was dispatched from Italy as legate, to negotiate the reconciliation of England with the apostolic see; but he was stopped on his way at Dettingen, by the influence of Gardiner, who, jealous of the authority of this rising favourite, persuaded his mistress, that the restoration of the papal power, and the proposed union with Philip, were measures too unpopular to be both hazarded and avowed at once. Not, however, to lose the friendship of the Cardinal, Mary transmitted to him the two acts passed, relative to her mother's marriage, and the restoration of the ancient religion, from which he might learn that she had not been remiss in preparing the way for his reception. But the legate, who perceived the machinations of his rival, coldly replied, that her timid exertions had still left much to be removed; no express acknowledgment of the papal supremacy having been made in the act which legalized the marriage of Queen Catherine; and public worship

* Warburton, in his remarks on Neale's History, suggests a forced interpretation of this speech.

having only been restored to the schismatical state in which it had been left by Henry. These remonstrances would, at any other juncture, have strongly influenced the bigoted mind of Mary; but as she had now entirely surrendered herself to the counsels and guidance of the bishop of Winchester, who regarded Pole with all the hatred of jealousy, the presence and assistance of the latter in England were not at this time solicited.

VIII. 1554.—Insurrections, headed by Suffolk and Sir Thomas Wyatt, having been occasioned in various counties by the projected marriage of Mary with Philip, and probably by the re-establishment of the mass service in Latin, the suppression of them strengthened the hands of government, an usual consequence of half-formed and unsuccessful revolts, while a pretext was afforded for proceeding to bolder measures. Lady Jane Grey was accordingly brought to the scaffold, where, after having repeated the fifty-first Psalm, owned herself a sinner, and acknowledged her reliance solely on the mercies of her Redeemer, she calmly submitted her neck to the axe—a wonderful young person, profoundly learned in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, versed in the sacred writings, and zealous in the cause of reformation; yet retaining her feminine modesty and submissiveness of opinion; humble, gentle, pious; neither elated by the prospect of a crown, nor dejected when her palace was exchanged for a prison. In addition to this severity, which soon after drove

Morgan, the presiding judge, to distraction, the bishops were enjoined to put in execution the canon laws, which had been in force during the reign of Henry VIII. to suppress heresy, to silence heretics, and to remove from their situations all the married clergy. In consequence of this last order, twelve thousand ecclesiastics, according to the historian of the Reformation, were summarily deprived *. The fact, however, seems to be, that although England, at the time when the injunction was issued, contained that proportion of married clergymen, being three-fourths of the whole sacred body, yet a year having been granted them for dismissing their wives, three thousand of their number availed themselves of the indulgence. This measure, on the whole, was effected with the harshest severity : such as had been regulars, were at once deprived and divorced : “ some,” says Archbishop Parker, “ were removed without conviction ; some who were imprisoned, suffered for not appearing to their citation ; and others experienced the same treatment, to whom no citation had been addressed : some were stripped of their preferments ; others, though they had married before entering into orders ; while many were induced to resign by the promise of a pension, which they never received.” Books, attempting to justify severities thus arbitrary, were published under the

* Burnet, vol. ii. Collier, vol. ii. Warner, vol. ii. p. 347.

sanction of Gardiner, accusing the married clergy of sensual living ; and these were not slow in retorting an accusation so much more justly merited by their adversaries. “ That kennel of the uncleanness of the priests and religious houses,” to use the words of Bishop Burnet *, “ was again on this occasion raked and exposed with too much indecency ; for the married priests thought it but a just piece of self-defence to turn the odium back on those who pretended to chastity, and yet led most irregular lives, under the appearance of that strictness.”

Seven Protestant bishops were next degraded ; those of Lincoln, Hereford, and Gloucester, for erroneous doctrine, and opposition to the established church ; and the remaining four, being the archbishop of York, and the bishops of Bristol, Chester, and St. David's, on the unjust pretence of their having relinquished a state of celibacy, a privilege which had been granted them by various acts of parliament. Others, as we have already mentioned, fled to the continent : and thus were created, by expulsion and abdication, not less than sixteen vacancies on the bench, which the Catholic party took care to fill up with prelates friendly to their intended proceedings.

IX. With a view to silence a complaint made by the reformers, that the doctrinal discussions of the last convocation had been conducted with shame-

* History of Reformation, vol. ii.

ful injustice towards their friends, of whom the ablest had been detained in prison, while such as were present, in endeavouring to be heard, were intimidated by threats, and interrupted by clamours, a conference was appointed to be held at Oxford, to which place Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, were conveyed from their prisons in the Tower of London. The subjects of controversy on which these venerable fathers were required to defend the Protestant cause, were the long-disputed points of the real presence, and its consequence, the propitiatory sacrifice of the mass. But when we learn that only two days were allowed them for preparation, that even during that short period they were neither furnished with books nor with implements for writing, that they were denied all communication with each other, and that each was directed to appear singly in the dispute; and when, on the other hand, it is understood that the delegates with whom they were confronted were in number fourteen, the ablest of the Catholic party, having the advantage of ample previous leisure and intercourse, as well as of mutual support in the controversy, we can be at no loss to perceive how deceitful was the pretence of impartiality set up by the court, or to conjecture in what manner the farce would terminate. Nevertheless, under all these unfavourable circumstances, the prelates maintained their argument with wonderful self-possession and ability. On the question concerning the propi-

tiatory sacrifice of the mass, it was contended by Cranmer, that to allege the necessity of supplemental oblation, supposed that offered at Calvary to be defective. When accused of having published the catechism of Edward, as "set forth by the convocation," to whom it had not been submitted, the archbishop promptly threw all the blame on the council, who had substituted the title in question for that of "sitting the convocation," the phrase used by himself. Even Latimer, now in his 80th year, with a memory impaired, and at all times more esteemed for his piety than his talents, seemed on this occasion to be inspired with unusual energy. He appeared simply attired: his cap was buttoned beneath his chin, his spectacles hung at his breast, and under his arm he carried the New Testament. Alluding to the real presence, he pleasantly told the assembly, that he had perused that book seven times, but could find no mention whatever of the mass, neither of its flesh, nor of its sinews *. Being much pressed with quotations from the fathers, and chiefly with the following figurative words of St. Chrysostom, "The lips are tinged and empurpled with the blood of the Saviour;"—"I lay no stress upon the fathers," he replied, "but when they lay stress upon the Scriptures." His opponents, however, continuing to urge their cause, his strength and perseverance were at length exhausted. "I am

* Gilpin's Life of Latimer.

an old man," he answered, " covered with infirmities, and no longer fit for disputing ; yet, although I cannot now argue for my religion, I can still DIE for it." The sentiments of Ridley appear, it must be owned, to have been less orthodox than those of his two brethren, at least if we may give credit to Bishop Burnet, who represents him as pronouncing the sacrament to be only a simple memorial, of which good and wicked ought equally to partake.

The dispute having been carried on with the greatest disorder, like that of the previous convocation, five persons often speaking at once, and the bishops being interrupted with tauntings, shouts, hissings, and revilings, so that, to use the words of Ridley, the noises of the Sorbonne were modest when compared to the brawlings in a place of conference, resembling more a stage than a school of divines ; the delegates of the convocation, no one among whom held a higher rank than that of priest, condemned their superiors as obstinate heretics, and remanded them to their former confinement. They all seem, from their answers on receiving this sentence, to have anticipated their approaching martyrdom. " I appeal," said the archbishop, " to the just judgment of Almighty God *."—" I am not of your company," were the words of Ridley ; " yet I trust my name is written in heaven, whither I foresee I am about to be carried, sooner

* Life of Cranmer.

than by the course of nature."—"Blessed be God," exclaimed the venerable Latimer, "that he hath prolonged my life to so honourable an end, as that I may glorify his name in dying for the faith."

A similar mock argument was intended to be held at Cambridge, which the prisoners in London avoided by declaring, in a published manifesto, that they would not dispute otherwise than in writing, except before the parliament, or the queen in council. They printed at the same time a summary of that faith, for which they proclaimed their readiness to die. Here they remonstrated against all the popish abuses; and while they asserted justification by Christ's imputed righteousness, maintained also the necessity of inherent holiness, and defined faith to be not only an opinion, "but a certain persuasion, wrought by the Holy Ghost, which did illuminate the mind, and supple the heart to submit itself unfeignedly to God."

X. The attainder of Pole being reversed by parliament, he arrived in London in his capacity of legate, and made a speech in Whitehall to the lords and commons, recommending submission to papal authority. At the same time a sermon was delivered by Gardiner, from the words, "It is high time to awake out of sleep," which, with a dexterity too common on such occasions, he warped from their fair and plain meaning; interpreting them as signifying that it was now high time for

England to awake from the dream of reformation. A flexible and servile parliament, agreeably to these instructions, presented an address to Mary and Philip, petitioning them to beseech the legate's mediation, in reconciling their country to the Roman Catholic church. Having received a plenary absolution from the cardinal, the lords and commons pretended excessive joy; they embraced each other, exclaiming, "This day are we born again;" and to afford a more convincing testimony of their sincerity in returning to the bosom of the church, they hastened to annul all the existing acts which were in any respect hostile to the ancient religion. Gold obtained from Spain, and prudently distributed by Gardiner, had produced an acquiescence thus entire in the revival of superstition. In this first instance of corrupting a British parliament, however, the bribes, it seems, were not sufficiently high, to effect a restoration of the monastic lands. When the proposal to that effect was mentioned in parliament, many of the nobility and gentry laid their hands on their swords, and declared, that they knew well how to defend their property. With this one exception, then, religion may be considered, as having retrograded from its state in the end, to that in the beginning, of the reign of Henry VIII. *

The scheme for restoring impropriated lands to

* Philips's Life of Pole. Burnet, vol. ii. Collier, vol. ii.

the church, by means of the royal influence over parliament, having been thus found impracticable, an attempt was determined on to attain the end by other means: and accordingly, while the legate denounced the severest judgments of Heaven, on those who should retain the holy property, the mortmain act was suspended for twenty years, in order to facilitate the proposed restitution. But neither these measures, nor the example of the queen, who (valuing, as she said, the salvation of her soul more than ten kingdoms) reinstated the clergy in the possession of such lands as in the late spoliation had been retained by the crown, as well as of her first fruits and tenths, were available to accomplish the desired object. It was this obstinacy in the courtiers, added to the Protestant spirit of the people, which chiefly provoked the counsellors of Mary to vengeance; for all the sanguinary statutes against heretics were now revived—a dismal prelude to the scenes that were in contemplation. To the passing of these acts the lords consented, as to a measure which might divert the royal eye from their property; while the commons, as we have stated, were secured by corruption.

XI. In restoring the old ceremonies, a zealous coadjutor or underling was furnished to the heads of the Catholic party in Bonner, who, on visiting his diocese, behaved with an intemperance and indecency, which compelled the dean of St. Paul's,

his companion in the circuit, to plead in his vindication, what indeed seemed true, that long confinement had disordered his understanding. From the walls of churches he obliterated all scriptural quotations, to make way for his favourite images; and went even so far as to strike the clergy, wherever he found the sacrament not exposed. To a people who had enjoyed the dawn of religious illumination, this compulsory return to darkness could not be otherwise than obnoxious: but their dissatisfaction being too weak to break out into open revolt, they contented themselves with venting it in travesties of the Latin service, and in other sarcastic jests. On these the court, for the present, looked with patience; but it was the grim repose of the hurricane, expecting his evening prey.

One Robert Meldrum, of St. Giles's in the Fields, had shaved a dog in contempt of the tonsure; for which offence he was only condemned to make a public confession of his folly, in the parish-church. Rose, a clergyman, with a congregation of thirty citizens, had joined in entreating that God would be pleased to turn the heart of Queen Mary from idolatry; or, if that were not permitted, that he would shorten her days. This bold supplication produced an act of parliament, declaring it to be treasonable to utter such a prayer: it does not, however, appear, that any severity, beyond a short imprisonment, was inflicted on the delinquents. Since nothing exasperates so vio-

lently as ridicule, it was a continuance of the former, rather than of the latter of these manifestations of discontent, which at length drove the court to extremities.

XII. A. D. 1555.—In deliberating about the conduct to be pursued with regard to heretics, the opinions of the merciful legate and the inhuman chancellor were as strongly at variance as their characters were opposite. To the bishops and some of the clergy assembled at Lambeth, Pole urged with earnestness the manifest expedience of an entire reformation in the sacred body, as the most effectual means of obstructing the wider diffusion of heresy, which his brethren could not but own, derived its strongest arguments from their too prevailing ignorance and licentiousness. Gardiner, considering religion as only an engine of civil government, and heedless whether persecution should make hypocrites or converts, provided it made quiet subjects, recommended a strict execution of the laws; the terrors of the stake and the faggot. To which of these counsels the queen gave the preference, may be known by considering which of them was the more congenial to her temper. With the deliberate cruelty of a fiend, she drew up with her own hand, a scheme touching religion, proposing that heretics should be burned without rashness, while good sermons should be preached to them during their torments. Gardiner, sanctioned and secured by this instru-

ment, proceeded to satiate his thirst for blood, and a series of shocking atrocities ensued, which, if they had not been evidently the effect of mistaken zeal, and if our ecclesiastical history were not in general the history of toleration and mercy, might have left a deep stain on our national character.

XIII. The protomartyr was Rogers, a prebendary of St. Paul's, and an eminent preacher among the reformers; his alleged offence being that of receiving the sacrament, according to the service of the English Liturgy. He was consigned to the flames on the fourth of February. In a few days afterwards, on the ninth of the same month, a more eminent victim was led forth; namely, Hooper, whose abhorrence to such episcopal vestments, as bore even the slightest relation to popery, had rendered him more obnoxious than his brethren, to the court party. His crimes were stated to be, espousing a wife, allowing a divorce and second marriage in case of fornication, and denying the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament. A pardon, on the condition of his renouncing these errors, was offered to him, under the name of John Hooper, clerk; but this he resolutely rejected. As to spit in the face while they platted the crown of martyrdom was a refinement in cruelty not unknown to his enemies, he was contemptuously termed, in the warrant for his execution, "a vain-glorious person, and one who delighted in much talking." While he lay in pri-

son, his friends entreated him to temporize, arguing, that life is sweet, and that death is bitter: "And is not the life to come," he replied with simplicity, "more sweet, ah! is not eternal death infinitely more bitter?" Yet, though Hooper could thus adhere to important truths, with a firmness which despised the terrors of severity, and withstood the solicitations of friendship, he did not scruple to express his profound regret, for the excessive warmth he had formerly manifested in regard to matters so very frivolous and indifferent, as he now owned, were the surplice and the tippet. He suffered in the city of Gloucester, at a slow fire, and appears to have been endowed with supernatural fortitude; as if insensible to his torments, he continued in earnest prayer and exhortation, until his tongue was consumed by the flames. "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!" were his last distinct articulations.

Not a few of the martyrdoms were distinguished by cruelties, hardly known amongst the rudest savages. Taylor, the pastor of Hadley, making a struggle in the flames, his brains were beaten out with a halbert. When Marsh, a priest, was burned at Chester, a pot of boiling pitch was suspended over his head, that it might scald and torment him in falling. The hand of Tomkins, a poor weaver in Shoreditch, previous to the final execution of his sentence, was held by Bonner in the flame of a candle, until the veins and sinews

shrunk and burst, and the blood spurted forth in the face of Harpsfield, who stood by. This same barbarian whipped to death John Fitty, aged only eight years; and burned Laverock, a wretched cripple, who had advanced to the borders of seventy. Punishment, indeed, without discrimination, was inflicted on all classes of the community; nor were the young, the infirm, the low, or the ignorant, passed over as contemptible, or pitied as misled. The great suffered on account of their influence or example; and their inferiors for presuming to judge for themselves*. Thus the arm of vengeance fell on Rawlins White, an illiterate inhabitant of Cardiff, only for the offence of having sent his son to school, that he might enjoy the pleasure of having the Bible read to him in his old age. Such barbarities were, however, of no avail, or rather, by affording opportunity to the reformers of manifesting a superior intrepidity and fortitude, of embracing their faggots, smiling while slowly consumed, and chaunting praises in their last moments, they served, in a very essential manner, to advance the cause which they were designed to injure. Saunders, a minister of Coventry, died scornfully refusing a pardon, and exclaiming, "Welcome the cross of Christ, welcome everlasting life!" Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, was burned by Morgan, his successor; to whose

* Fox, vol. iii. p. 145. Burnet, Collier, Fuller, Neale.

conduct on this occasion the passage was applied (Luke, xx. 14), "This is the heir, let us kill him, and then the inheritance shall be ours." Trusting in the strength of God, and confident in his power of endurance, Ferrar had desired a friend to give no credit to his principles, if he should be observed to display signs of uneasiness in his torments; nor did the test fail in the hour of suffering. In like manner one Thomas Hawkes stretched out his arms, when encompassed with the devouring flames, a gesture which he had promised to the bystanders he would exhibit, if he should experience strength and comfort. A certain young man, whose name was Hunter, having concealed himself, and Bonner proceeding to inflict vengeance on his father, the youth generously returned from his hiding-place, and surrendered himself as the right object of severity. It is not surprising, that these various instances of heroism, and striking evidences of sincerity, should confirm the faith of the timid and wavering, and add many proselytes to the persecuted cause.

But let us hasten away from these sickening details. Not less than sixty-seven reformers suffered in the year 1555. Among these the most remarkable were the pious and learned Ridley, and Latimer, a fit companion, venerable in years and in primitive simplicity. When, on their trial, the papal commission was produced, the bishop of London immediately put on his cap: "I enter-

tain the very highest respect," he said, "for the birth, learning, and virtues of Cardinal Pole;" and at these words he stood uncovered: "but when I hear him mentioned as the Pope's legate, my conscience will not permit me to show the slightest reverence for any one who acts under such an authority." Having said this, he once more covered himself. The issue of such boldness requires not being mentioned. As the two prelates were passing to the place of execution, Ridley laboured to strengthen his aged friend, by reminding him that God would either abate the pain of the flames, or supply them with courage to endure it. This assurance was reinforced by a prayer to the same effect, uttered by their fellow-victim, Cranmer, who viewed from the window of his prison a procession, well calculated to warn him of his own impending fate. At the stake Dr. Smith delivered a specimen of those "good sermons," which the humane Mary had directed to be preached to the sufferers. The text, it is true, was not a little unfortunate, happening to be one of those two-edged weapons, which may strike those who wield them as deeply as they wound the adversary: "And though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing." The martyrs were silent: they were indeed forbidden to reply: but in one hour afterwards they most strikingly manifested to whom the cited passage was truly applicable; and in their deaths, which

contributed to transmit to unborn generations a purified and rational faith, preached an eloquent sermon on the succeeding words of the Apostle, "*Charity suffereth long.*" They were burnt at Oxford, on the 16th of October 1555, in the ditch opposite to Baliol College; Latimer having previously assured his fellow-sufferer, with prophetic sagacity, that they should that day light such a torch in England, as, by God's grace, would never be extinguished.

XIV. Gardiner, who had vainly imagined that a few examples of severity would intimidate the reformed party, and suppress all further opposition, perceiving himself disappointed by the event, and finding the martyrs multiplying around him, at length became ashamed of standing forward in the work of death, and interposed betwixt himself and the popular odium, his willing agent, the bishop of London, who was often heard to say with his wonted ferocity, "Let me once lay hold on these heretics, and if they escape my hands, may God do so and more to Bonner *!" Three weeks after the execution of Latimer and Ridley, their persecutor, Gardiner, died a natural, but far less

* Fox's account of Gardiner's death, as happening a few days after the execution of Latimer, is certainly not correct. If we may believe Bishop Burnet, however, the author of the Martyrology is deserving of implicit credit, wherever he professes to have derived his intelligence from records, or other written documents.

enviable death. He is said to have expired amidst the bitterest agonies of remorse, exclaiming, "Ah! I have sinned with Peter; but I have not wept with him."

Gardiner was master of the learned languages, versed in the civil and canon laws, and well experienced in public affairs; but a child of this world; a flatterer, and a dissembler. His principles were ever ready to veer with his interest; and during three reigns he had been employed in making marches and counter-marches betwixt popery and protestantism. Like most men of imperious dispositions, he was at once fawning to superiors, and cruel where he possessed authority. Let his character afford a fresh illustration of one distinguishing moral of ecclesiastical history: "Talent not supported by Christian principle, is the most pernicious of all evils to the community in which it is exerted; the most dangerous of all snares to its possessor."

In perusing the records transmitted by the martyrologist, of the severities inflicted in different dioceses, it will at first seem remarkable, that not one reformer was put to death in that of Winchester. Gardiner, it would appear, fearful of ignominy, preyed, "like the fox, at a distance from his own den;" as, even when he indulged his appetite for destruction, he was careful to stand behind Bonner as his executioner, who might bear the brunt of popular resentment. On the death

of this prelate, the great seal was given to Heath, that an ecclesiastic might still be at the head of affairs, to forward the persecuting purposes of the sovereign.

1556.—Cranmer had been hitherto preserved, as has been already hinted, through Gardiner's anxiety to prevent his rival Pole from succeeding to the metropolitan chair; a jealousy which the wily chancellor concealed beneath a professed wish, to injure more effectually the reformed cause, by shaking the integrity of its great patron, whose death, he pretended, if signalized by fortitude, would serve no other end than that of strengthening the confidence, and increasing the numbers of the heretics. Gardiner being now dead, a commission for the trial of Cranmer was dispatched from Rome, to Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, as the papal legate, Cardinal Pole having declined to interfere. When brought into court, the archbishop conducted himself with the utmost dignity and resolution: refusing, in imitation of the late conduct of Ridley, to show reverence to Brooks in his legatine capacity; and ably vindicating his opposition to the Roman see, on the subjects of supremacy and lay communion. His trial being now removed to Rome, he was there pronounced contumacious for non-appearance; although he had expressed his willingness to answer to the citation, if the queen would deliver him from prison. A commission for his degradation was

dispatched to the bishop of London, who failed not to accompany the ceremony with every mark of ridicule and the coarsest insult. The distinguished part which he had taken in the Reformation, and the high estimation in which he was held by its friends, both at home and on the continent, disposed the Catholic party to avail themselves of the hint formerly dropped by Gardiner, how incalculable an advantage would be derived to their cause, if by any means, either of argument or indulgence, they could shake his firmness, and procure his recantation. Being accordingly removed to the lodgings of the dean of Christchurch, he was there treated with a respect answerable to his former rank: and while able divines were sent to reason with him, he was encouraged to apostatize by a promise of life and preferment. And here we must heave a sigh over the weakness of human nature. Not, indeed, dazzled by the lustre of expected power, but alarmed by the prospect of impending death, Cranmer, in a moment ever to be regretted, was prevailed on to sign his abjuration of the improved doctrines; which being immediately published, afforded, as may be supposed, a subject of loud exultation to his enemies, while it sunk the reformers in the deepest despondency. In vain has the author of the Martyrology attempted to justify this unfortunate recession from principle, by ascribing it to the archbishop's desire to gain time for satisfactorily

replying to Gardiner's book upon the sacrament, Impartial history must assign, though with sorrow, its true cause—the infirmity of man; only being able to palliate the error, by recording the shortness of its duration. It cannot be denied indeed, and, in truth, ought not to be concealed, that some days after, at the suggestion of a Spanish friar, the archbishop deliberately repeated his abjuration, in the presence of a party of hearers assembled to witness his shame; that he even transcribed it, and set his signature to it a second time. But this is the full extent of his offending; for no sooner had he begun to reflect on the transaction, than his bosom was filled with all the exquisite anguish of remorse, which embittered the short remainder of his life. Eager to defeat the effects of his temporary apostacy, he hastened to draw up a confession of faith, agreeably to the genuine and deliberate dictates of his conscience; and not, like the former instrument, the base suggestion of his fears. In the mean time Mary, being resolved on destroying him, and regardless of that solemn promise of life which she had directed to be offered in return for his abjuration, sent down a mandate for his being instantly led to the stake. It is important to observe, that the last confession of Cranmer was, most undoubtedly, composed *previous* to his being apprized of this order; and, on the other hand, that the order was, as certainly, is-

sued before his counter-recantation was made known: a fact which serves to illustrate the treacherous character of the queen, and at the same time to show, that the primate's avowal of his real principles was not, in any respect, influenced by the conviction, that his renunciation of them had been of no avail.

To the death-warrant was annexed its usual accompaniment, a direction for the preaching of a good sermon; in other words, for the teasing of the unhappy sufferer with an insulting and fruitless opposition in his last moments. The preacher appointed to discharge this task, was Cole, the provost of Eton; who imagining Cranmer to continue faithful to his abjuration, began his harangue with a justification of his royal mistress for punishing him in spite of it. After which, affecting to congratulate the archbishop on his timely return to the ancient way of truth, he assured him that dirges and masses should be sung for him, while he recommended the examples of St. Andrew and St. Lawrence, who had both died with calmness and fortitude amidst their torments.

During the whole of this argumentative and feeling oration, the father of the reformed principles stood absorbed in thought, and weeping bitterly at the recollection of his past weakness. On being required to make a public avowal of the Catholic faith, he commenced by recommending obedience to the queen, charity towards the poor,

and a temper not conformed to this world: then drawing from his bosom the confession which he had prepared, he read it aloud with a firm utterance, adding, that the signature of a contrary declaration, to which he had been lately urged in a season of fear and weakness, troubled him above all the actions of his past life. He was immediately hurried to the adjacent place of execution, and when tied to the stake, resolutely exposed his right hand, with which he had signed his shameful dereliction of principle, to the hottest part of the flames; where he continued to hold it until it was burnt down to the wrist. During the torture sustained from this self-infliction, he was frequently heard to exclaim, "This unworthy hand!" but never was observed to draw it back, excepting once, to wipe the sweat of pain from his face. The same unshaken constancy abided by him to the last; and the fire gradually devoured his quivering limbs, without once forcing from him a motion of impatience, or a cry of agony. His last words were, like those of Hooper, and of their common forerunner in the course of martyrdom, St. Stephen, a recommendation of his parting spirit to the care of its Saviour. His heart being afterwards found entire amidst the ashes, his friends, without converting the circumstance into a miracle, took occasion to say, elegantly, that though his hand had once erred, his heart, it appeared, had ever continued sound.

Thus truly dignified were the departing moments of the venerable father of the English Reformation, to the interests of which he had now continued faithful, through good report and evil report, with one slight exception, for more than twenty-three years. Historians have dwelt with equal pleasure on the qualities of his heart, and the endowments of his mind : meek, forgiving, moderate, prudent ; charitable, hospitable, devout, he moved by degrees to the accomplishment of his grand object, for the most part avoiding rashness and persecution, improving every reasonable advantage, conciliating enemies, and directing to his purpose those views of reformation, which though friendly, fell short of the justness of his own. To the delicate task of dealing gently, on the one hand, with the old Roman Catholic prejudices ; and on the other, of controlling the excessive violence of many Protestants, who insulted priests ministering at the altar, and spoke in irreverent and indecent terms concerning the sacrament, he showed himself not unequal. Though well skilled in the civil and canon laws, his master-accomplishment was a most profound knowledge of the much-agitated question respecting the sacrament ; on which, as well as on other theological points, he had prepared himself for arguing with promptitude and ability, by the habit he had long cultivated of making extracts from almost every ecclesiastical writer, both ancient

and modern. His imperfection—and who is the perfect man?—consisted in a few occasional faults, ebullitions of zeal, or paroxysms of timidity—not in any radical defect of character; and it is not the least valuable part of his eulogium, that without neglecting his duties to the state, and to the general cause of reformation, he found time to bestow all due attention on his proper functions as a diocesan and pastor. He was succeeded in the primacy by Cardinal Pole, a man possessing many amiable qualities, but who showed at his installation how little he was calculated to compensate the loss of his predecessor, by preaching a heavy discourse on the importance of the pall. In allusion to his avowed concern for the death of Cranmer, his enemies applied to him, though harshly, on his elevation, the words of Elijah, “Thou hast killed, and taken possession.”

Not satisfied with having removed, in the manner above recited, the learned, the wise, the resolute, and the virtuous primate, the patron of the obnoxious innovation, Mary and her advisers proceeded to exhaust their rage on its less eminent or formidable adherents. Bonner, to whom the work of destruction was committed, as to the person most likely to carry it forward, unchecked by any compunctious visitings of nature, now waded through rivers of blood, sporting, as in his proper element, with the lives of numbers, whose age, sex, or infirmities might have awakened compassion

in any less ferocious, in any OTHER bosom. He stood by on one occasion, and glutted his eyes with the starting sinews and the agonizing looks of thirteen unhappy creatures consumed at the same fire. Not less than eighty-six sufferers expiated the alleged crime of heresy in 1556, and seventy-nine in the year following: all of them steadfast in their belief and principles to the end, and triumphing in the glorious privilege of dying in their support *.

Although the circumstance which happened in the island of Guernsey, during the course of these severities, may seem to be too well known to require, and perhaps too shocking to bear repetition, it will be improper to pass it over in entire silence, lest by a single omission its authenticity might appear questionable; or lest it should ever be overlooked by any Protestant, in his estimate of the excesses of superstition. While a mother and her two daughters were suffering at the stake, the pangs of labour seized one of them, and an infant burst from her womb; the populace were willing to show favour to the smiling stranger, but a magistrate who presided, pronouncing that nothing which even issued from a heretic was worthy of being preserved, it was cast back by the direction of this wretch into the

* At the executions which took place in Sussex and Kent, the gentlemen of these two counties were requested to attend with their retinues; and they afterwards received the thanks of the council for complying with this invitation.

flames, which speedily silenced the cries of its innocence.

To crown this detail of savage atrocities, a proclamation was at one time issued in Smithfield, that no one should pray for the victims about to be tormented, should speak a word to them, or utter a "God help them!" Nor is there more than one solitary instance of pardon, and that was at the earnest solicitation of Pole, extended to a heretic, in the whole of this detestable reign*.

Upon the whole, it is computed that in the space of three years, two hundred and seventy-seven persons were brought to the stake; among whom were five bishops, twenty-one clergymen, eight lay gentlemen, eighty-four tradesmen, one hundred peasants and day-labourers, fifty-five women, and four children. According to a book, however, entitled, "The Executions for Treason," which appeared in the following reign, written or corrected by Lord Burleigh, the martyrs publicly executed amounted to eight hundred; to which must be added an unknown number, secretly massacred in their prisons.

XV. Opposite effects to those designed and expected, resulted, as usually happens, from these sanguinary proceedings. The reformed principles had struck too deeply to be eradicated; and, as it is

* Collier, vol. ii. p. 397. Strype, vol. iii. p. 473. Speed, p. 826. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 243.

said of the chamomile plant, they sprang up the more vigorously, the more they were trodden under foot. While the oppressed party were drawn more firmly together by the bond of a common affliction, the lukewarm, witnessing their boldness in defending their doctrines, began to think seriously on a subject which seemed so important; and even moderate Catholics, while they could not avoid blushing for the unchristian spirit of their leaders, became inclined towards a persuasion, persecuted with severities, which they saw so vainly inflicted, and so courageously endured. "Every martyrdom," confesses Mr. Hume, "was equivalent to a hundred sermons against popery; and the people either avoided such horrid spectacles, or returned full of violent, though secret indignation against the persecutors."

The bishops, sensible of this general odium, artfully endeavoured to cast the blame upon Philip; who retorted the accusation by directing his confessor to preach a sermon before the court, in which, after expressing the strongest disapprobation of violent measures against heretics, he exhorted the reverend prelates to instruct their adversaries in the spirit of meekness, and to convert them with the weapon of reason.

In the mean time, the Protestants held many private assemblies, in Suffolk, Essex, and the neighbourhood of London; but Bonner, soon discovering their retreats, apprehended Rough

and Sympson, their priest and deacon. When the latter was brought to the stake, this disgrace to the episcopacy addressed the by-standers in the following terms: "You see what a personable man this is; and for his patience, if he were not an heretic, I should much commend him; for he has been thrice racked in one day, and in my house has endured much sorrow; yet I never saw his patience moved; nor has he been prevailed on to give up the names of his congregation *."

The test of heretical opinions in the reign of Mary, was the question relating to the sacrament of the altar; and to preclude all evasion or prevarication in the reply, it was couched in the strictest possible terms: "Do you believe the bread to be the very body of Christ, that was born of the Virgin Mary, substantially, naturally, and really, after the word of consecration?" Such was the express form of the interrogatory; and even to a question thus broadly proposed, only a categorical answer, an aye or no, was allowed, without explanation or comment. When we reflect, that to be stripped of their whole fortunes, to be torn from their domestic comforts, to behold

* Disputes concerning predestination which arose among the Protestants committed to the Marshalsea prison, were unfortunately often carried to so violent a length, that the keeper was obliged to separate the contending parties. This afforded matter of much triumph to their common enemies.

their families undone; to be treated with harsh severity in prison; and dragged in the midst of insult and ignominy to the stake, affords a sore trial to human patience, we need not wonder that a few of the reformers should exhibit, in perishing, sallies of passion, of which in cooler moments they would doubtless have been ashamed; or that they were tempted to give vent, in the bitterness of their hearts, to vehement railings against their relentless enemies. With respect to the dignity, the fortitude, the perseverance in suffering, displayed by all these illustrious martyrs, nothing could redound more highly to their own credit, or to the advantage of the sacred cause which they had espoused. From the ties of flesh and blood they disengaged themselves without regret. In the midst of their pains they encouraged their friends to constancy. Forgetful of their own sufferings, they seemed only anxious for the triumph of a purified religion; and they met their fate exulting in an opportunity of going so honourably before their Judge and Master*.—While we admire, as we must, the unshaken constancy of these disciples, let us lift up our hearts in adoration and gratitude, to that great Spirit of

* “Such reformers as were artificers,” says the historian Fuller, “continued quietly in their several vocations; not affecting to preach,” while unlettered and uneducated, “save only one last sermon upon patience.”

power and might, which breathed a holy determination into their souls; “glorifying God, that such power has been given unto men.” (Matt. ix. 8.) Let us further praise the Father of Mercies, for having called us into life in these peaceable days of our church, when we are permitted to worship and serve him without fear; and when we are subjected to no such fiery trials as those through which our forefathers were destined to pass. Let us hold fast the sacred and pure doctrines which we have received, sealed with the best blood of so great and noble an army of learned, and wise, and good, and venerable men. Undismayed by the inferior, insignificant martyrdom inflicted by the scorn or hatred of the world, let us determine to make of those doctrines, at all times, a bold, loud, public, fearless confession; and if by any of those vicissitudes in human affairs which lie beyond the reach of ordinary conjecture, we should ever be called on to suffer further for the reformed tenets, let us by divine assistance walk worthy of our vocation, steadfast, unmoveable, abounding in God’s work to the end. Let us defend our rich inheritance of truth without shrinking; and contribute, by perishing, should it be required, at the stake, towards opposing the return of darkness and bigotry, of a mode of religion, which we find to be capable of dictating the counsels of a Gardiner, animating and exaspe-

rating the fury of a Bonner, and nursing the cold remorseless cruelty of a Mary *.

XVI. Vexation, occasioned by disappointment in a fancied pregnancy, by the neglect of Philip, by the recent loss of Calais, but, above all, by the inefficacy of the violent measures pursued for the suppression of the reformed doctrines, increased the natural sourness of the queen's disposition, and contributed, with a dropsy, to accelerate her dissolution. She died Nov. 17, A. D. 1558, and was followed to the grave in a few hours, by her relation, the learned and able Cardinal Pole. Mary had lived forty-three years, and reigned five and a half: sufficiently long for such a sovereign. Her character has already been fully developed, in recording the transactions of her blood-stained reign: to revert to it, could afford the reader little pleasure; to the writer, it would be only a renewal of pain. Not to withhold her due praise, it is proper to add, that she was obedient to her mother; attached to her husband; sincere in an erroneous faith; liberal in establishing religious institutions;

* In Mr. Hume's account of the persecutions of this reign, we meet with the following extraordinary observation: "It seems to be almost a general rule, that in all religions, except the true, no man will suffer martyrdom, who would not also inflict it willingly on those who differ from him." What does this historian, may it be allowed us to ask, here term the true religion? If natural religion—where are its martyrs? and on what facts does he ground so sweeping an accusation directed principally against the Christian faith?

and not disposed to screen her Catholic subjects when they committed offences worthy of death.

XVII. We must now retrace our steps over the events of a few years, that we may observe the circumstances which gave rise to the party of the PURITANS. It will be remembered, that on the first intimation of the Marian persecutions, a number of the reformers fled for safety to the continent; some settling in Germany, and others in Switzerland. On the 27th of June, A. D. 1554, Whittingham, Williams, Sutton, and Wood, four refugees, arrived in Francfort with their families; and, on application to the magistrates, obtained, for public worship, the use of the French Protestant church in that city; the old and new congregations being to assemble at different times. Two conditions, however, had previously been demanded of the strangers; that they should sign the French confession of faith, and not quarrel concerning ceremonies. To these they yielded compliance the more readily, as it seems to have fully accorded with their inclination; rejecting the use of the liturgy and surplice, and agreeing not to answer aloud after the minister. They refused the superintendence of Bishop Scory, then at Embden; and, as a symptom of their temper, termed the phrase in the Litany, "by thy holy incarnation and baptism," a conjuring of God. Their service began with a general confession of sins. To this succeeded a psalm, which was followed by a prayer offered by the minister for the aid of the

Divine Spirit: then came the sermon; a general prayer for all states, but chiefly for that of England; the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, another psalm; and lastly, the benediction of dismissal. They took possession of the church, 29th July 1554, and having chosen a minister and deacons to perform the service, invited by letters their dispersed brethren to come and join their congregation*. It appears, that the more learned among the reforming clergy had settled at Strasburg, Zurich, and Basil, for the benefits arising from public libraries, printing-presses, or the conversation of professors in the universities. As it was mentioned in the circular letter of the Francfort divines, that their service approached more nearly to the purity of Scripture, than the second liturgy of King Edward, Knox from Geneva, Haddon from Strasburg, and Lever from Zurich, having accepted the invitation, were elected their ministers: but the great body of refugees at Strasburg required, previous to their coming, a promise of adherence to Edward's book. This the congregation of Francfort refused; yet at the same time retaining a part of that formulary, though omitting the litany and the responses. This partial measure not satisfying the reformers of Strasburg, the Francfort divines appealed to Calvin, who encouraged the Knoxian faction, by declaring, that since the Reformation was now overthrown in Eng-

* Hist. of Troubles of Francfort; printed 1575.

land, and established in another place, they ought to correct the weaknesses in Edward's second book, and to institute a service of greater purity. By this decision the Francfort congregation were confirmed in their nonconformity; and they agreed to continue the use of part of Edward's service-book, until April 1555; while, if any further subject of contention should arise, they proposed appealing to Calvin, Martyr, and Bullinger.

In the mean time, on the 13th of March in that year, 1555, Cox, formerly tutor to Edward VI. arrived with several of his friends in Francfort, where they began to read the responses aloud after the minister, contrary to the custom there established. Knox, however, admitting them to vote in the congregation, they soon became a majority, and drove Knox from the pulpit. The church was now modelled to some conformity with the English establishment; having a superintendant, two clergymen, as elders, and four deacons. Knox, thus supplanted in his charge, and convicted of having accused the Emperor in a pamphlet of being as great an enemy to Christ as Nero was, departed from the city, and removed to Geneva, March 25, 1556. His congregation being broken up, dispersed themselves abroad like sheep who had lost their shepherd; Fox, the martyrologist, and some others, repairing to Basil; and the rest following Knox to the head-quarters of Calvinism. Here Knox and Goodman were created pastors; and the Geneva discipline, including a liturgy, or

a form of prayers and sacraments, was established. By this discipline the ministers had no authority in the church government; but acted, in ordering it, conjointly with lay elders. The deacons were laymen appointed for the distribution of alms. A minister might be dismissed by the elders for negligent preaching. Difficult passages of Scripture were expounded in weekly meetings of the congregation, where every man had equal liberty to speak. Latitude was given to extemporary prayer; but no prayers of any kind were allowed at funerals. The eucharist was administered once every month; and christenings were not permitted in private houses. Excommunication was not pronounced without the assent of the people; and the person excommunicated might hear sermons.

At Francfort, in the year following, 1557, Cox settled Horn in the pastoral charge; and a private dispute arising betwixt this minister and a layman, whose name was Ashley, the latter was summoned before the elders in vestry. On his appeal from the elders to the congregation at large, Horn laid down his ministry, and the church-officers their functions. The congregation now decided that an appeal did lie to them; and Horn, in dissatisfaction, quitted the city.

XVIII. The only two sects which appeared before this period, and to which it is now time to direct our attention, were the Anabaptists and Gospellers.

Of the sentiments of the former sect there had been faint appearances in England, at several preceding periods; and it is thought that Joan of Kent, and Von Paris, were both infected with them; but it was not until the time of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. that they were deemed sufficiently formidable to attract the notice of the legislature. They were excepted out of the general pardons of 32 Henry VIII. ch. 49, and 3 and 4 Edward VI. ch. 24; principally because they, in those times, mingled with their religious doctrines certain political sentiments of dangerous tendency. An allusion is made to their increase in the preface to the Common Prayer Book; and the sixteenth, twenty-seventh, thirty-seventh, and thirty-eighth articles were pointed expressly against their heresies and other errors. On the continent, the Baptists are termed Mennonites, from Menno Simon, a native of Friesland, who died A.D. 1561. These, as well as the English Baptists of the present day, are not to be confounded with the fanatics of Germany, who under Storck, Stubner, Munzer, and Bockhold, wished to confound the distinctions of rank, birth, and wealth, and to throw all possessions into a common stock; who asserted the unlawfulness of assuming the office of magistracy under the spiritual dominion of Christ, and the liberty enjoyed by all his disciples of marrying a plurality of wives. Fourteen Anabaptists were put to death in this country, A. D. 1535, and thirty others banished four years after-

wards: they still, however, abounded in 1547; and two were burnt in Smithfield in 1575. Edward Wightman, a Baptist of Burton upon Trent, was burnt at Litchfield in the reign of James I.; being the last person who suffered death on account of religion in England *. Thus exposed to the sword of the civil magistrate, the Baptists did not form a regular congregation until the year 1633; or, according to Neale, 1640, under the guidance of a Mr. Jesse; when, after having renounced their prior baptism by sprinkling, they sent over an individual of their number to be immersed by one of the Anabaptists of Amsterdam, that he might be qualified to distribute that species of baptism on his return to his own country. In the year 1620, several Anabaptists emigrated to New England; and their numbers, throughout the United States, are now computed at 255,670 †.

Since the separation under Mr. Jesse, this sect has subsisted, under two distinct societies—the Particular, or Calvinistic; and the General, or Arminian, Baptists. In their modes of worship and church-government they agree with the Independents, their parent stock; with this difference,

* Burnet's Hist. of Reform. part ii. page 100. History of Religion, &c. vol. iv. page 195-7, and page 200, ed. 1764, 8vo. Bogue and Bennet, Hist. of Dissenters, vol. i. page 150.

† Sleidan's Hist. of German Anabapt. Crosby's Hist. of the Bapt. Edwards's Hist. of American Baptists. Wall on Infant Baptism. Hannah Adams's View. Adams's Religious World. Buck's Theolog. Dictionary.

that some among the General Baptists have three degrees of ordained ministers—messengers, elders, and deacons. Most persons of both descriptions allow of free, or mixed communion; in other words, they join in celebrating the Lord's supper with persons who unite with them in a profession of faith, although they may have received the first sacrament either in their infancy, or by sprinkling. On this ground, however, a controversy has arisen, in which free communion has been defended by Bunyan, Foster, Bulkely, Wiche, and Robinson; while Killingworth and Booth have written on the opposite side.

Certain of the General Baptists, it is said, have professed an inclination towards Arianism, or Socinianism; on account of which, several of their ministers and churches, who disapprove of such principles, have, within the last forty years, formed themselves into a distinct connexion, termed the New Association. A friendly correspondence respecting external things is kept up by the churches in this union, with those from whom they have detached themselves, but the connexion is disclaimed in regard to more essential points; and in particular, as to the changing of ministers, and the admission of members. The General Baptists hold an annual assembly, on Whit-tuesday, in Worship Street, London. Formerly they used to baptize publicly in rivers; and then to repeat the rite in their private baptisteries: but river-baptism is now greatly disused. Evans, in his

Sketch, delivers a curious account of the public baptism of forty-eight persons, in the river Whittle, near Cambridge. This order of Baptists have two exhibitions for students at one of the Scotch universities, given by Dr. Ward of Gresham College; besides which there is an academy at Bristol, known by the name of the Bristol Association Society. Among the eminent men of whom the General Baptists have to boast, the names of Gale, Foster, Burroughs, Foote, Noble, Bulkely, Wiche, and Robinson, are conspicuous: while Dr. Gill, John Bunyan, and Dr. Stennett, were ornaments of not inferior lustre to the class of Particular Baptists. In America and the East Indies, the Baptists are chiefly Calvinists, living in occasional communion with the Particular Baptists of England: and much praise is due to both for their sober and active zeal in converting the Heathens. Serampore, in Bengal, is their chief seat of mission, and Thomas and Carey were their first missionaries from England, A. D. 1793. Under the direction of the latter, the printing of the Scriptures was carrying on, in 1807, in six languages; the Bengalee, the Sungscrit, the Orissa, the Mahratta, the Hindostanee, and the Gujerratee: and since that time in Chinese, Persian, Burman, and the Pungabee, or language of the Seeks*.

* In September 1809 the Bengalee translation was completed; the Sungscrit had reached Exodus, chap. xxxiv.; the Hindostanee, the twentieth of Acts; Mahratta, twenty-first of John; Orissa, twenty-sixth of Proverbs.—*Appendix to Christian Observer, February 1811.*

The Baptists in Scotland contribute liberally towards these works; although, having imbibed a considerable part of the principles of Messieurs Glass and Sandeman, they hold no communion with their English brethren. The history of the Baptists has been here pursued, in all its parts, and through all its stages; by which means, although the chronological order is anticipated, the view of the sect is more distinctly presented to the reader.

XIX. Two points are at issue betwixt the Baptists and the established church: the one relating to the subject, and the other to the manner, of baptism. It is maintained by these sectaries, that faith and repentance being essential pre-requisites to baptism, infants, who are incapable of either, are not proper subjects for the reception of that rite; and that the Apostles do not appear to have administered it to any, but to such as had previously been instructed in the Christian religion, and professed assent to its doctrines.

On the other hand, according to our twenty-seventh article, “the baptism of young children is in any wise to be retained in the church, as most agreeable with the institution of Christ.” Infant baptism, it is urged, in support of this proposition, is practised agreeably to the analogy of circumcision, the corresponding sign of God’s covenant under the Jewish dispensation: and a rite performed by the divine command, on the eighth day subsequent to the birth of the child. (Gen,

xvii. 12 ; Luke, ii. 21.) That baptism is the sign of the Gospel covenant, is plainly intimated in Galat. iii. 27, 29 : “ For as many of you as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ, &c.” If circumcision, then, was performed to all who were interested in it, should not baptism, which came in the place of circumcision, have, properly, the same extent ? for that baptism did come in the place of it, is evident from Coloss. ii. 11, 12 : not to mention, that both the ordinances signify one and the same thing ; namely, the deliverance from original sin ; the former by abscission, and the latter by ablution. Shall the Gospel diminish the privileges enjoyed under the law ? Our Saviour commanded little children to be brought unto him, and manifested towards them a particular affection ; and if he deemed them capable of receiving a blessing, the *inward grace*, is it for us to withhold from them the *outward sign* ? In several baptisms mentioned in the New Testament—in those of Lydia and her household (Acts, xvi. 14, 15) ; of the jailor and his family (ver. 33) ; of Crispus and all his house (Acts, xviii. 8) ; and of the household of Stephanus (1 Cor. i. 16)—it is reasonable to suppose that there were young children, members of some, if not all of these domestic societies, who partook of the rite. Moreover, since God, in changing the ordinance, has apprized us of one intended alteration, namely, the admission of females to baptism, we may infer that he would have as plainly declared any other, had he designed it,

(Acts, viii. 12 ; and xvi. 14, 15 ; Gal. iii. 28.) No texts, however, appear to prove, that infants are cast off from the covenant, under its new sign. He that believeth not, shall be damned, says the Scripture (Mark, xvi. 16), in the same passage which had just asserted, that he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved. Do the Antipædobaptists then advance the uncharitable and shocking doctrine, that all persons dying before they arrive at years of discretion, incur this awful doom ? for if the inability to make a personal declaration of faith, be sufficient to exclude them from baptism, it is undoubtedly, by the same rule, sufficient to exclude them from salvation. Is it not much more consistent with the divine attributes, and with the general sense of Scripture, to suppose, that, since infants are incapable of professing personal belief, such profession as they can make, that of sponsors, will suffice, until their own incapability shall cease ; that they will be accepted according to that they have, and not to that which they have not, and cannot have ?

But are the writings of the Evangelists and Apostles so wholly silent, so defective in regard to all mention of infant baptism, as has been asserted ? When our Lord commands his Apostles (Matt. xxviii. 19) to go and baptize all nations, why should it not be affirmed that the injunction is extended to the case of children, of whom, as well as of adults, nations are composed ? How do the enemies of infant baptism explain the re-

markable passage (1 Cor. vii. 14), "Else were your children unclean, but now are they holy?" Admitting, however, that these two passages do not amount to a positive precept, the omission of the New Testament is no more a reason for the neglect of infant baptism, than a violation of the sabbath could be justified on the ground, that neither Christ nor his Apostles have commanded it to be hallowed. The truth must be, that, when the New Testament was written, no misunderstanding or question prevailed among the early disciples, either with respect to the one subject or the other; and that this is the cause to which the omission, or the incidental mention of both, is to be ascribed. Indeed, the objection to infant baptism derived from the silence of Scripture, is neutralized by a contending argument: for if the sacred writers give no specific account of the initiatory sacrament's being administered to infants, they make no mention, on the other hand, of its ever having been delayed.

Our Saviour's adult baptism affords no precedent; he underwent the rite to do honour to the ministry of his forerunner, and could not be capable of that faith and repentance, which are affirmed to be necessary among his followers.

To show the very high antiquity of pædobaptism, a host of respectable witnesses might be set in array. Justin Martyr writes, in his Apology, "Several persons amongst us, aged sixty or seventy years, were discipled to Christ from their

childhood." Here the word *εμαθηνευθησαν* is the same used by St. Matthew (xxviii. 19), in expressing our Saviour's command to the Apostles: "Go ye and DISCIPLE all nations, baptizing them, &c." And as this Apology is known to have been written within forty years from the death from the Apostles, sixty or seventy years numbered backwards from that period, will carry the individuals spoken of into the apostolic age. The same writer, in his Dialogue with Trypho the Jew, page 59, speaks of baptism as being to Christians, what circumcision was to the Jews. Irenæus was born about the year 100, and wrote a treatise, *Adversus Hæreses*; in which, lib. ii. cap. iii. he declares that all, elderly persons, children, and infants, are regenerated by Christ unto God: and Wall has shown at great length, that the phrase, *being regenerated*, particularly as used by Irenæus, and in the acceptation of that age, signified the reception of baptism; as is most clear, indeed, from one passage, in particular, occurring in the writings of that father, in which Christ is said to have been *regenerated* by John in Jordan. And this argument is confirmed by Clemens Alexandrinus, the contemporary of Irenæus, who in his *Pædag.* lib. i. chap. vi. defines the word *regeneration* as being the name of baptism. The regenerated infants, then, spoken of by Irenæus, must necessarily be infants baptized into God.

Still more explicit is the testimony of Origen, who flourished A. D. 230; a learned man, and

well acquainted, by means of travel, with the use of the different Christian churches. In his Homily on Luke, xiv. he expressly affirms, not only that it was the custom of the church to baptize infants, for the washing away of that pollution which exists, though life be but a day long; but that the church had received an order from the Apostles, for the administration of baptism even to infants.

In the council of Carthage, A. D. 253, a question arose, whether infants should be baptized two or three days after their birth, or whether that rite should be delayed until the eighth day, in imitation of circumcision under the Jewish law. Here all the bishops, sixty-six in number, were unanimous in holding the doctrine of infant baptism, and in regarding baptism as a spiritual circumcision: one person only, Fidus, affirming the propriety of restricting it, in point of exact time, to the day appointed for the circumcision according to the flesh *. St. Cyprian, who presided in this assembly, writes as follows, in his sixty-fourth epistle: “ If the greatest sinners, on repentance, are not debarred from receiving baptism and grace, how much more ought not these benefits to be withheld from an infant, who hath as yet no way sinned, except that he hath from his birth contracted the contagion of the old death; and who is the more easily admitted to receive remission of sins on this very account,

* Wall, vol. i. chap. 6.

that he hath no sins of his own to be remitted, but only those of others." And in the decrees of Syricius, bishop of Rome, published A. D. 385, it is ordained, that baptism shall be given at any time to infants; a direction repeated in the seventy-second canon of the African code, promulgated A. D. 408.

Infant baptism was practised in all established national churches; and as no mention of it occurs among the articles of any creed, or in the canons of any general or provincial council, we may infer that the doctrine was generally admitted by the early Christians. The only two fathers by whom it has been at all objected to, are Tertullian, in the second century; and Gregory of Nazianzum, in the fourth: but as the former allows it in cases of danger, and the latter forcibly pleads against delaying the rite beyond the age of three years, they both plainly admit the principle on which it is practised and defended.

In point of expedience, it may be allowable to subjoin, that the baptism of the young secures their religious education, by providing sponsors, in addition to their natural parents, who may be ignorant, and thus unable; or profligate, and therefore unwilling, to instruct; or whose precepts the hand of death may silence. These sponsors the rite at the same time serves to impress with a deep sense of their sacred obligations.

If the controversy be esteemed by any to regard

the question, "Whether we shall be baptized on the profession of our own faith, or on another man's profession," it may be replied, that in the English church, as soon as the baptized child arrives at years of discretion, he enjoys all the advantages of adult baptism in the office of confirmation. He then makes a personal confession of faith, and a voluntary assumption of his vows. In the mean time he has been a member of the Christian church; in which he has lived secure against any (let us say possible) evils; which in event of death may befall those who, having opportunity, have not been baptized into Christ.

Besides this controversy relating to the *subject*, Christians have another variance in opinion, with respect to the *manner*, of baptism: the Baptists affirming that all persons ought to enter into the Gospel covenant by immersion; while the church of England avows a persuasion that sprinkling is equally efficacious. According to the former, the word *baptize* can only be understood to signify, dipping; a mode of administration seeming further to be recommended by the two examples of Christ, as baptized by John; and of the Ethiopian eunuch, by Philip. Baptism, they add, ought, as much as may be, to resemble the death and rising again of Christ.

It is replied by the English church, that the word βαπτῆ strictly signifies a spot, which is partial; that βαπτίζω and βαπτισμός denote in

Scripture, indiscriminately either sprinkling or dipping; nay, that in several passages they both occur in the former sense exclusively. Thus, in St. Mark's Gospel, vii. 4, *ἵνα μὴ βαπτίζωνται*, &c. except they wash, they eat not: and again, Luke, xi. 38, the Pharisees marvelled, *ὅτι ἔ πρῶτον ἐβαπτισθῆ*, because he had not washed before dinner—are phrases alluding only to the washing of the hands; for when the Pharisees blame the disciples (Mark, vii. 5) for eating with unwashed hands, the word used is *ἀνιπτοῖς*, as *νιπτω* is in the third verse, a word signifying to wet in the manner of rain.—Vide Parkhurst's Lexicon. Indeed the Jewish mode of washing the hands was by means of water poured out by a servant, as appears from 2 Kings, iii. 11, where Elisha is related to have performed this office to Elijah. That this was the common method practised by the Jews, is more largely proved by Pococke from Maimon and others: *Non lavant manus nisi e vase, affusâ aquâ*.—Not. Mis. chap. ix. Another Jewish custom was the washing (*βαπτισμός*) of tables; in the original, *κλινῶν*, beds, or couches; as well as of cups, pots, and brazen vessels: see Mark, vii. 4; which it is unreasonable to suppose was performed by immersion.

It further appears, from Numbers, viii. 7; and xix. 18 and 19; that some of the divers washings, *διαφόροι βαπτισμοί*, in usage among the Jews (Heb. ix. 10), were performed by sprinkling.

Again, in Eph. v. 26; Titus, iii. 5; and Heb.

x. 22; the sacramental washing is expressed by other words besides baptism, and by words which signify washing by affusion or sprinkling.

But to proceed: the public baptism held by John in Jordan, as well as Philip's descent to—*εις*—not into the water, with the Ethiopian, are not positive proofs of immersion or plunging. Jesus came up, says the English version, out of the water; where “out of” is, in the Greek, *απο*, from, used in the same sense as in Matt. iii. 8: *απο* τῆς μελλούσης ὀργῆς, “from,” not “out of”, the wrath to come. The parties may have in both cases descended to the water, for the sake of more convenient affusion. Again, as to John's baptizing in Jordan, the preposition, *εν*, here employed, is in more than one hundred places of the New Testament translated *AT*; and in one hundred and fifty others, “with.” Add to this that the passage, “Christ came not by water only” (1 John, v. 6), (*εν* τῷ ὕδατι), could not with any propriety have been rendered, *in* water. In the case of Philip and the Ethiopian, if “into the water” is to be construed as denoting an immersion, the Apostle must have been immersed as well as the new disciple.

The jailor of Philippi, it may be here observed, was converted, and baptized with his household, in the night: was the prison previously furnished with a baptistery? or is it likely (we speak with reverence) that the family were

called from sleep to be plunged in a cold bath? As to the emblematical sense of baptism, if it is to be reasoned on at all, we may affirm that this rite is an expressive emblem of the descending influence of the Holy Spirit: and therefore pouring is the most proper mode of administering it, since that is the scriptural term most commonly employed, to signify the communication of such influence. “I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh.” (Acts, ii. 17, 18. See also Prov. i. 23; Isaiah, xlv. 3; Joel, ii. 28, 29). “I baptize you WITH water (*ev*), but Christ shall baptize you WITH (*ev*) the Holy Ghost and WITH fire;” in which passage *ev* is properly translated: since *in* would evidently not apply, in the latter clause, to the pouring out of the divine Spirit. In several passages also the term *sprinkling* is employed, in reference to the act of purifying; and consequently this form of administering the rite cannot be deemed an improper emblem of baptismal purification. (Numb. ix. 13, 18; Ezek. xxxvi. 25; Heb. ix. 13, 14 *.) As to the phrase (Rom.

* The first chapter of the elaborate work of Williams relates to positive institutions, and analogical reasoning, as applicable to the ordinance in question: in the second the nature and use of baptism is shown to be to exhibit and confirm the blessings of the covenant, as the seal of God, affixed to his grant: in the third it is proved, that Christ wills infant baptism: the fourth dwells on the different applications of which the words *baptize* and *baptism* admit: and the fifth answers objections and evasions.

vi. 4), being buried with Christ by baptism unto death, it is no more than a metaphor, like the similar expression occurring in the next verse but one of the same chapter, of being crucified with Christ. In 1 Pet. iii. 21, the saving of Noah and his family is represented as a type or emblem of baptism; and these were saved upon the water, not plunged into it. Some divines have considered affusion as emblematical of that "sprinkling of the blood of Christ," by which we are saved, as the Jews were by a similar use of the blood of the paschal lamb (1 Pet. i. 2); nay, they assert that this mode of conferring baptism was foretold by the Prophets Isaiah and Ezekiel (Isaiah, lii. 15; and Ezek. xxxvi. 25); and alluded to by St. Paul in his Epistle to the Hebrews (Heb. x. 22).

As it is not denied that the word βαπτισμος signifies immersion as well as sprinkling, neither does the church of England refuse to acknowledge that baptism was usually administered by the early Christians, in the former method: she only maintains, that immersion is not absolutely necessary; which the foregoing arguments render sufficiently clear: to which it may be added, that even the early Christians baptized in cases of sickness, by sprinkling the sick person in bed: as is demonstrated by Wall, in the ninth chapter of his work.

Admission into the Christian covenant, then, by sprinkling, being practicable, we conclude,

that this mode of administration deserves preference, since the contrary practice of immersion would be inconvenient, indelicate, and, in colder climates, often highly dangerous.

Some of the Baptists are denominated **SABBATARIANS**, from their observance of the seventh day of the week as the Sabbath. Of these there are two congregations in London; one among the General Baptists, assembling in Mill Yard; and another among the Calvinistic Baptists, holding their meetings in Cripplegate. A handful of others are found in Oxford, and dispersed in different parts of the kingdom. They exist, however, in their greatest numbers in America; and chiefly in Rhode Island, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, where some of them are termed **Dunkers**, and others are the remainder of the **Keithian** or **Quaker Baptists**. Nor are they singular, it would appear, in this Judaizing custom; for by the Abyssinian Christians, and by some members of the Greek church, both Saturday and Sunday are observed. All these Sabbatarians consider the fourth commandment still as strictly forming a part of the moral law; and as having in no particular been abrogated or altered by the Gospel.

To this it may be answered, that if the Sabbath be regarded in its spirit as a day of repose to man and beast, and to the former, of reflection and public worship, it is not so much a precise day, as one day in seven, which God has directed to be hallowed: the more particularly, since it is impos-

sible, from the inaccuracy of records, and the procession of equinoxes, to ascertain exactly, each seventh day from the creation; and further, from the spherical form of the earth, and the absurdity of supposing it to be a large plain, to fix upon any particular portion of time, in which the day of rest will not be concluding with some, while it has only reached its noon with others.

When all these observations are kept in mind, we cannot deny that it was fully competent to the Apostles, to transfer the Sabbath, *on adequate grounds*, from the seventh to a different day.

Let us next, then, attend to the plain statement of facts. On the first day of the week our Saviour rose. On the first day of the week he showed himself to his disciples. He appeared no more until the eighth day afterwards, which was likewise the first day of the week: nor do we read that, before the same day, his Apostles were again assembled. This was the day on which the primitive disciples held all their public and solemn meetings; when the Holy Ghost fell on the Apostles; when Paul preached at Troas to those who were assembled to break bread; the day on which the Corinthians are desired by the same Apostle to lay by them in store; the day which, in memory of the Saviour's resurrection, was distinguished by the name of the "Lord's day;" and that at so very early a period, that St. John mentions the phrase without any explanation: "On the

Lord's day," he writes in the Apocalypse, "I was in the Spirit." Testimony of the early and constant observance of this day is borne by the most ancient Christian writers; by Ignatius, who calls it the Queen of days; by Melito, Justin Martyr, and Tertullian: not to mention that Pliny, a few years after the death of St. John, speaks of it as a festival held by Christians. It appears, then, that the Apostles, viewing the sabbatical institution in a liberal and spiritual light, advanced the day hallowed for reflection and united religion, from the seventh to the first day of the week, in order that the remembrance of the fact of Christ's resurrection, of the completed victory over sin and death, might be transmitted, as a subject of religious contemplation, and of congregational gratitude, from week to week, without interruption, down to the end of time. Since, therefore, this reason for the change is an adequate one; since it appears to have had, on two occasions, the sanction of our Lord himself; and since the apostolic practice was imitated by the early Christians, we conclude it to be imperative upon the disciples of every age, to respect and to comply with the ordinance.

XX. The sect called GOSPELLERS were guilty of deducing a most pernicious inference from the doctrine of predestination. "Heaven," they affirmed, "has decreed what shall happen, and all the circumstances of our conduct are

fore-ordained, Why then should we fruitlessly strive against these decrees? Let us commit ourselves to the stream, and act as nature prompts, and as chance directs." This species of quietism, which, if it were once admitted, would make all preaching and all praying vain, and render heaven and hell unreasonable, was strenuously opposed by Bishop Hooper. Its dangerous tendency gave rise to that passage in the seventeenth Article, in which it is observed, that, "as the godly consideration of predestination and our election in Christ is full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons, *and such as feel in themselves the workings of the Spirit of Christ, mortifying the works of the flesh, and their earthly members,* and drawing up their minds to high and heavenly things, as well because it doth greatly establish and confirm their faith of eternal salvation, to be enjoyed through Christ, as because it doth frequently kindle their love towards God; so for curious and carnal persons, lacking the Spirit of Christ, to have continually before their eyes the sentence of God's predestination, is a most dangerous downfall, whereby the devil doth thrust them, either into desperation, or into wretchlessness of most unclean living, no less perilous than desperation." Reserving the inquiry into the general doctrine of predestination for a subsequent part of our history, it is sufficient here to observe upon the sect before us, that whatever difference of opinion may exist on other

branches of the doctrine, all the respectable opponents concur in believing that holiness of life will necessarily be displayed, whenever the favour of God is enjoyed, either as the cause or as the effect of that favour. "The same Power," says Doddridge, "which predestinates unto life, bestows that measure of grace, which shall enable the elect to make their calling and election sure." Admitting, then, in the Calvinistic sense, the hypothesis of election, it follows that any who, yielding to the stream, resign themselves to wretchlessness of unclean living, cannot be numbered among the people of God. How do they answer to the description given in Romans, viii. 29, "For whom he did foreknow, he did also predestinate to be conformed to the image of his Son?" Are THEY conformed to the image of the pure and holy Jesus? If any then, like the Gossellers, construing the doctrine of predestination into an allowance to yield submissively to the stream, shall fall, with the natural current of that stream, into a course of unresisting wickedness, let them remember, that, on their own grounds, there are reprobate as well as elect, and that the mark of the beast is upon their foreheads.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH.

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I. THE opinions respecting religion entertained by Elizabeth, who now succeeded to the throne of England, had been long publicly known; inso-much that the necessity of taking away her life had

been frequently, in the late reign, urged by Gardiner, who observed that his party were idly lopping the branches, while the trunk was still permitted to stand. Since her legitimacy, indeed, and consequent claim to the crown, depended upon the invalidity of her father's marriage with Catherine, she had naturally contracted a political as well as religious antipathy to the papal power, and attachment to the cause of reformation. On receiving the council and bishops at Highgate, in her way from Hatfield to London, she confirmed the joyful anticipations of her people, with respect to the course she intended to pursue, by permitting all present to kiss her hand, excepting only Bonner, from whom she turned away with horror, as from a monster, too much polluted with human blood to merit such an act of favour.

In notifying her accession to foreign courts, policy persuaded Elizabeth to pay that compliment even to the Pope; but the haughty Paul proceeded at once to extremities, declaring that England was a fief of the see of Rome, and refusing to acknowledge her title to the throne on any other terms, than a renunciation of her pretensions, and entire submission to his authority. This intemperate demand immediately provoked the queen to recall Karne, her ambassador to His Holiness; and every new measure which she afterwards pursued, was an advancement towards effecting the complete destruction of popery within the English realm.

II. A singular proof of her prudence is afforded in the moderation which she displayed in restoring the reformed doctrines; and which, at that juncture, was rendered highly necessary, by her dread of an excommunication, which she knew would at once produce a French invasion, and an Irish rebellion, as well as by the formidable power and influence of the Catholic nobility and bishops. Not only then that she might hold a balance in her own hand, but that new measures might not be precipitated, she compounded her council of Protestants and moderate Papists. And while she issued an order for the deliverance of all who were confined on account of their religious principles, she replied, to some courtier who had pleasantly inquired whether the four Evangelists, now imprisoned in Latin, were included in the general discharge, that she would, in the first place, herself converse with these prisoners, and try to discover whether they demanded their enlargement. Although, in short, she was determined to patronize only one, and that the Protestant church, she wished and laboured to establish it in a form as little offensive to all religious parties, as should consist with a regard to the truth of its essential doctrines. It was resolved in the council, that the service-book of Edward VI. should be reviewed by a committee of the most learned and prudent divines; and that, by admitting the laity to communion in both kinds, the hopes of the reformed party should, in the mean time, be encouraged.

This slow procedure, however, kept but unequal pace with the impatience of Elizabeth's Protestant subjects. Her known inclination to their principles had, on her accession, induced many of the exiles to return from the continent. These, preaching their persuasion with energy and ability, attracted numerous hearers, who, kindling with zeal, proceeded without authority to pull down images, and to affront the established clergy. This outrage compelled the queen to silence the pulpit by proclamation; and, indeed, we may remark, that the intemperate harangues, both of the Catholic and the Puritan divines, rendered her adverse to preaching throughout her whole reign; as she used to observe, that two preachers were enough for a country, and that she saw more religion in addressing God in prayer, than in sitting to hear a rhetorical flourish on his attributes.

III. In the parliament which assembled A. D. 1559, an act was passed (all the bishops, however, protesting) for restoring to the crown those first fruits and tenths, and parsonages impropriate, which Mary had granted to the church. By other acts, ecclesiastical supremacy, in its fullest extent, was restored to the crown, the performance of public worship was permitted in the vulgar tongue, and its uniformity secured by ordering the general use of the now revised service-book of King Edward; the nomination to bishoprics by *congé d'élire* was re-established; and all the acts passed

in the reign of Edward, concerning religion, were declared to be again in force.

IV. Of the exiles who had returned, and who have been compared to the Danube and the Saave, flowing in the same channel, but preserving their streams distinct, the Francfort congregation agreed with the parliament, in regard to the act of uniformity; while Calvin's form, as far as respected ceremonies, was favoured by the divines from Geneva. Many of these last had not yet arrived, having remained behind to finish a translation of the Bible; and the Common Prayer Book was compiled or revised chiefly by the Francfort party; by the diffident and moderate Parker, soon after created primate, with the assistance of Grindall, Cox, Whitehead, May, Bill, and Pilkington. On the 8th of May, Whit-Sunday, in the same year, the reading of the English service commenced in all the churches. Injunctions had been given to the committee of divines, to construct the Liturgy with such moderation and latitude of expression, as might render the conciliation of the less determined Catholics not impracticable or hopeless. On this account, the petition imploring for deliverance from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities, was in the present revision omitted; as was the rubric, explaining the custom of kneeling at the sacrament, not to signify an adoration of Christ's corporeal presence. Elizabeth, indeed, though she had prohibited the host from being any longer elevated

in her presence, and had thus declared herself a Protestant in essential matters; was attached to many of the ancient ceremonies; she wished to preserve vocal and instrumental music, though without any affectation of show or skill, and always assisted with a silver rood or crucifix, as well as with the solemn pealings of the organ, the devotions of her own chapel. It is believed that she would even have publicly retained images, but for the discovery of a religious deception in Dublin, by which a sponge, soaked in blood, and placed in the hollow of a reed, produced the appearance of bleeding brows in a certain marble figure of Christ, which a priest named Lee smote during the service.

V. When the oath of supremacy was tendered to the bishops, the whole bench, with the exception of Kitchen, of Llandaff, refusing it, were ejected from their sees. To some of them, particularly to Heath, Tonstal, and Hurley, much indulgence was extended on their deprivation; but the ferocious Bonner deservedly languished out the remainder of his wretched life in prison. Fourteen bishops, three bishops elect, one abbot, four priors, one abbess, twelve deans, fourteen archdeacons, sixty prebendaries or canons, one hundred beneficed priests, fifteen heads of colleges, and twenty doctors of divinity, were the whole number deprived, for their rejection of the established doctrine. All the sees, except that of Llandaff, being now vacant, were supplied with prelates in the end of 1559; Parker

being consecrated by Scory, Barlow, and Coverdale, and a suffragan of Bedford, who had all held the episcopal dignity in the reign of Edward *. To find a sufficient number of eligible parish-priests, was a matter of greater difficulty ; and both Roman Catholics and Puritans being deemed objectionable, some churches were left altogether unsupplied, while others were given to men of mean education, who proved disserviceable to the reformed cause †. The Puritans, in accepting the oath of supremacy, regarded it simply as the exclusion of any foreign authority.

VI. A visitation for examining the learning and morals of the clergy having been committed to a body of laymen, instructions were given them, relating chiefly to preaching licenses, to the substitution of altars for communion-tables, to simple, modest, distinct psalmody, and to the plain form of the sacramental bread. Reverential bowing at the holy name of Jesus was enjoined as an acknowledgment of his divinity ; and churchmen were compelled to wear their habits on ordinary occasions, as conducive to their observance of the decencies of their

* It was afterwards alleged, that this election took place at the Nag's Head in Cheapside ; but Burnet, Strype, and others, refuted the calumny.

† Preparatory to the proposed revision of the articles, the bishops, when consecrated, drew up a short profession of faith, which they ordered all the parish-priests in their dioceses to read from their several pulpits. Its articles chiefly related to the supremacy, the book of prayer, and the sacraments.

function. Pensions were liberally reserved for those who from motives of conscience should resign their benefices; and all who were imprisoned on account of religion were enlarged. From the permission given by act of parliament to the crown, to delegate the supreme power in matters relating to the reform of the church, arose the high-commission court, possessing the same authority which had belonged to Cromwell as viceregent in the reign of Henry VIII.—a power much abused in this and the succeeding reigns*.

VII. In the year 1560, Alasco's congregation returned, and received the church of Austin Friars in London, still held by Dutch and German Protestants. At the same time the French Protestants obtained their church in Threadneedle Street.

VIII. All the prudence of Elizabeth was requisite in steering a middle course betwixt the Catholics and the more intemperate among the Puritans, the enemies and the indiscreet friends of the Reformation. The exiles from Geneva, perceiving, on their return, that the newly-established faith retained in its Liturgy a portion of the ancient forms, and in its discipline some of the habits and ceremonies of popery, proclaimed their opinion, that the Reformation was incomplete. Even had they confined their

* In 1559, the Bible was translated into Welsh, as were, some time afterwards, the Homilies. A proclamation was issued against defacing monuments. Westminster was made a collegiate church.

animadversions to the episcopal vestments, to the surplice, the tippet, and the corner-cap, or to the cross and sponsors in baptism, to kneeling, to the use of unleavened bread in the sacrament, to the ring in marriage, and the veil in churching, they would have rendered themselves sufficiently obnoxious to Elizabeth, who was naturally inclined to show and ceremony in religion. But their zeal for political liberty confirmed this unfavourable impression, and more forcibly induced her to discourage their advancement. Having entertained some scruples respecting the term, "supreme head of the church," she had substituted in its place that of "supreme governor:" but her ideas of the sovereign power were as lofty as ever; and hence she opposed with firmness, and sometimes with despotic sway, the efforts made by the non-conforming party, to disturb the ecclesiastical polity, which she well knew to be intimately connected with her prerogative in civil matters. Parker, in appointing the daily lessons to be read in churches throughout the year, which till this time it had been optional with the minister to change on Sunday, gave new offence to the Puritans, by including the apocryphal writings. This party were fast gaining ground in the nation, by means of the learning and zeal of their ministers, while a lamentable deficiency in literature was found amongst the officiating ecclesiastics of the establishment. As a large body of the refugee clergy were, on their return, precluded,

by their objections to the sacerdotal vestments, from resuming their sacred functions, it was found impracticable to supply all the churches, without the admission of pluralists and non-residents. While Coverdale died in indigence, a martyr to his scruples, having been obliged to resign his small living of St. Magnus in London, Fox obtained a prebend at Sarum, where, that he might not encounter the difficulty of the surplice, he was never afterwards called upon to officiate. Indeed, the Puritan party was now so strong, even within the pale of the church, that, in the convocation held in 1562, the kneeling at the sacrament, the use of the cross in baptism, and the continuance of organs in the churches, were saved only by a casting vote. We find that, soon after, 1564, the service was performed at a distance from the metropolis, with every possible deviation from uniformity in clerical attire *.

IX. In the convocation just mentioned, held in the chapter-house of St. Paul's, the forty-two articles of Edward VI. were pared down to thirty-nine, their present number †: the principal change

* Life of Parker, p. 152.

† Of the three omitted articles, the titles were these: of the fortieth, the souls of men deceased do neither perish nor sleep idly; of the forty-first, concerning the Millenarians; and of the forty-second, all men are not to be saved at last. A clause was omitted in the thirty-ninth article, stating, that the resurrection of the dead is not past already.—Burton, a

being an enumeration of the canonical and apocryphal books of Scripture, accompanied with a declaration that the latter were read for instruction, but not for doctrine; an assertion of the right of the church to appoint ceremonies, in subjection to the Scriptures; and a much compressed refutation of the corporeal presence. No explanation is given of Christ's descent into hell, in order that a latitude of interpretation might be allowed. On these articles, it shall only be observed for the present, that to subscribe them as articles of peace, or with secret re-

Puritan, in the reign of Charles I. accused Laud of having forged that clause in the twentieth article, which states that every church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies. He is supported by Fuller; but Collier shows the passage to have existed in four copies prior to 1628: and Heylin turns the charge on the Non-conformists, affirming, that they struck it out of the first copies. It is true that two copies, said to have been given by Parker, were found in the library of Bennet College, Cambridge, not containing the clause in question: but Collier proves them not to be authentic. The records of the convocation were burnt in the fire of London. The controversy is of little moment at present, as the clause is certainly in the confirmation of 1662.—Among the records in the Appendix to Burnet's first volume, are preserved the answers of all the bishops, and of other divines, relative to sacraments, and on a variety of other questions, chiefly concerning bishops and priests: and in the Appendix to the second volume there is a similar set of questions, with their replies, respecting the abuses of the mass. These evince the extreme caution with which the great and delicate work of reformation was carried on.

servations, is contrary to their very title, namely, for avoiding diversity of opinions.—At this time the Reformation may be considered as having been completed, any changes which took place in subsequent periods being slight and of little importance*.

X. The irregularity of the Non-conformists provoked the primate, Parker, to enforce, by his advertisements, the wearing of proper clerical apparel. In the year 1565, Sampson, dean of Christ Church, and Humphries, president of Magdalene College in Oxford, forfeited their benefices, in consequence of the scruples against wearing the surplice, the tippet, and the cornered cap; and when Cole, a priest, attired in these habiliments, appeared before the London clergy, at Lambeth, a number of that body, on being asked whether they would conform to this model of sacerdotal dress, exclaimed, “We shall be killed in our souls for this pollution:” nor was it till after a long-protracted conference, that sixty-one consented to wear the ornaments, while thirty-seven, as obstinate recusants, were suspended from their functions. At Paul’s cross, the Bishops Jewell and Horn vindicated the habits, as non-essentials, indifferent, and unworthy of dispute.

Strong measures were now pursued; and the

* In 1562, Bishop Jewell published his Apology for the Reformation, which was ordered to be chained in all the English churches. Noel’s Catechism was not made public till 1570. It is somewhat different from Edward’s Catechism; advancing the millenary doctrine.

disposition of Parker seemed to have acquired a firmness, and even a severity, far from being natural to it. Not having been seconded by the queen and commissioners, who, after urging him to the measure, wished to load him with the whole obloquy, he declared, that, since he had now begun, he would go forward, *ruat cœlum*, and be the rock of offence, so that his prince might win honour. All licenses for performing divine service being withdrawn, chiefly with a view of silencing irregular lecturers and occasional preachers, they were renewed only to those who consented to sign a declaration of conformity drawn up in the strictest terms. Distressed by this edict, many of the Non-conformists once more retired beyond seas, some returned to secular occupations, while others travelled about the country preaching, for which they obtained a pittance in collections. In defence of their opinions, they had published many violent pamphlets; but even of this resource they were soon deprived, by an order from the Star-chamber, prohibiting, under pain of imprisonment, the publication of any treatise animadverting on the queen's injunctions.

XI. The new translation of the Bible, which had been three years in preparation, at length appeared in 1568. Great care had been taken to preserve it free from errors, and to render it unexceptionable in all respects; each section, when translated by the divine to whom it had been allotted, having been communicated to the whole

body ; and not being adopted, till, in addition to this review, it was compared with other translations. It was called the Bishops' Bible, and was chiefly intended to counteract the Geneva edition then in circulation, which in its marginal notes contained bold and dangerous sentiments concerning obedience to governors, and in other respects savoured of puritanical opinions.

XII. Although several of the Puritans, among whom the most eminent were Coverdale, Humphries, Sampson, and Fox, retained under all the existing severities a sacred regard for the establishment, and continued preaching, as itinerants, in the parish-churches, the great body of the proscribed dissentients at length determined to have service of their own, to break off from the mother church, to worship God where they could, so as not to offend against their own consciences, and to have the sacraments administered without " idolatrous geare : " Here we are to fix the æra of that separation, which in the end produced such dreadful consequences. As matters stood, however, it could not by any means have been prevented ; for the church would never have enjoyed internal quiet, had two separate disciplines been tolerated within her establishment : and to have come over to the Puritans, in the matter of ceremonies, would only have given them a vantage-ground, in their aims against the hierarchy, and against various portions of the established service. In regulating their devotions, it was the desire of some of the dissentients to

retain a large portion of the English Liturgy ; but the violent party rejected the proposal, and appointed the Geneva book of service to be thenceforward the leading rule of their discipline. Their first public meeting at Plumbers' Hall, it appears, was interrupted by the sheriffs of London, who committed twenty-four of their members to Bridewell. Here they were consoled by letters from their brethren, warmly exhorting them to fortitude in their sufferings, and to unshaken perseverance in their principles. At the end of twelve months they were all released. Among the various regulations for discipline it was resolved, that organs should be suppressed, weekly lectures established, and sermons preached on Sunday ; that children should be taught the catechism of Calvin, and that parts only of the book of Common Prayer should be retained.

The greater part of the ecclesiastical history of this reign consists in petitions presented to the queen by the Puritans, against the use of the surplice, the tippet, and the corner-cap ; against baptism by women, and the answers of sponsors in the name of the child ; against saints' days, the Apocrypha, episcopal ordination, ministers who did not preach, compulsory subscription to the act of uniformity ; and finally, against the organ, accompanied as it was by psalms tossed from one side of the church to the other ; while on the part of the crown and conformists in power, we observe a positive rejection of all these supplications, at-

tended frequently with the imprisonment of the petitioners. We must admit, however, in candour, that the pious conduct and grave and regular deportment which the Puritans sought to introduce, were, at that juncture, much required; at least if we are to believe the accounts transmitted to us, of the state of manners then prevalent. "The churchmen," it is stated by Strype, in the Life of Archbishop Parker, "heaped up many benefices on themselves, and resided at none, neglecting their cures. Among the laity, little devotion was to be found, the Lord's day being neglected and profaned, and the prayers of the church not frequented. Some lived without any service of God at all, while many were heathens and atheists. The queen's court was an harbour for epicures and unbelievers, and a kind of lawless place, because it stood in no parish."

XIII. In the town of Northampton, where the party of the Puritans existed in the greatest force, two congregations became nurseries for their preachers; and it was here first that the lectures delivered received the name of PROPHESYINGS, A. D. 1571. These, being apparently directed against the Catholic doctrines, found a warm supporter in Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich; but the primate, considering them to be exercises of puritanism, which he viewed as an evil not less to be averted than popery, took pains to prejudice his royal mistress against them, by alleging (in her mind a powerful argument) that their tendency was to

create disaffection towards her government. Parker dying in 1575 *, his successor, Grindall, though no warm friend to the Puritans, was nevertheless anxious to encourage the prophesyings, under regulations which to him seemed to render them admissible.

This new method of instruction was brought from Scotland; and as it gave occasion to mootings on the subject of church-discipline, and to questioning the lawfulness of episcopacy, required, if at all worthy of being permitted, a judicious and strict control. Under the sanction of a passage in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, chap. xiv. ver. 31, "For ye may all prophesy one by one, that all may learn, and all may be comforted;" the ministers of a district assembled in a central church, where, after four or five had in turn occupied the pulpit, a grave divine delivered a finishing discourse, summing up the arguments on each side, and praising or reproving as he found occasion. In these discourses, after the text was announced,

* Parker is interred in Lambeth chapel, and the following epitaph is inscribed over his tomb :

Sobrius et prudens, studiis excultus et usu,
Integer et veræ religionis amans,
Ordine res gessit, recti defensor et æqui,
Vixerat ille Deo, mortuus ille Deo est.

But elevation made an unfavourable change in the character of Parker, who seemed much more anxious to suppress the Puritans by measures of unwarrantable severity, than to promote learning and good morals among the established clergy.

the preachers proceeded methodically to the discussion according to the following plan : they first laid down the occasion of the text, next the object of it, and then the proper fence or limitation : after which they stated the different interpretations, the parallel passages, and the apparently repugnant texts, reconciling the latter to that which formed the thesis. The arguments branching from the subject were then opened ; the virtues and vices connected with it explained ; false interpretations guarded against ; and the whole was finally wound up by a peroration, relative to such doctrines of faith, or rules of manners, as a general review of the subject brought under consideration. Before separating, the time and place of a new meeting were appointed, and the texts to be discussed, announced. Such arguments, being conducted with much warmth, and bearing the aspect of a popular debate, drew together crowds of the gentry and common people. They were advantageous as vehicles of religious information ; as exciting the sacred body to a study of divinity ; as eliciting truth from contending opinions ; as giving a religious bias to the attention and taste of the nation ; and lastly, as proving seminaries of able preachers, of whom there was at that time a most lamentable dearth : but, on the other hand, they imparted to the public mind, a polemical and schismatical turn, carried about pious but weak persons, with different winds of doctrine, and excited a propensity to wavering in minds, which had before en-

joyed the comfort of steadfastness in faith. Modest men, it was observed, though of eminent abilities, declined taking part in these noisy contests, in which raw youths, with more readiness than solidity, obtained, often in their errors, the chief applause and credit. Among the ministers who harangued, the jarring was incessant; many rambled away from the text under discussion, into a popular abuse of church-discipline; and the moderator frequently applauded and censured more according to his preconceived opinions, than to the dictates of unbiassed judgment. The people were factious in calling up their favourite ministers; and, in short, the weekly prophesyings were termed unauthorized fairs, which rendered the regular markets on Sunday less frequented.

Not less, however, than nine of the prelates, namely, those of Canterbury, London, Winchester, Bath, Litchfield, Chester, Exeter, St. David's, and Norwich, encouraging these exercises, the queen became incensed at their prodigious increase, and ordered Grindall to suppress them in every diocese, to reduce the number of preachers, and to order homilies to be read instead of sermons. But this archbishop, instead of complying with the royal mandate, had the boldness to address the sovereign in behalf of the prophesyings, which he regarded as useful in improving the clergy in oratory, and the people in a knowledge of the Scriptures. He told Elizabeth, that before

they were instituted, he had numbered but three good preachers in his diocese; but that he was now enabled to boast of thirty, who might be listened to with applause at Paul's cross, besides forty or fifty others, well qualified to lecture respectably in their own parishes; that a great company of preachers was insisted on as an advantage in Scripture; that the homilies were weak in addressing themselves to particular exigencies, both as to force and application; and that he trusted she would not carry her supremacy so far, as to the deciding of points of doctrine and discipline, without the advice and consent of her bishops; at least that she should not pronounce so very peremptorily in matters of religion as in secular affairs. He represented that he had drawn up for the use of the religious assemblies, a body of regulations, by which it was appointed, that the place of meeting, and the subjects to be discussed, were to be fixed by the bishop in every diocese; that an archdeacon, or some other learned divine, should moderate; that a list of the qualified clergy should be drawn up, and that those not gifted with a talent for speaking, should write their sentiments on the subject of inquiry; that their exercises should be read by the clergy, and not the laity; that no layman should be permitted to speak, nor any minister, who had been deprived for non-conformity; that no libelling of church-discipline or ceremonies should be allowed, either directly or by innuendo; that the moderator might silence

any speaker, and that he might reply to the false positions of another ; in a word, that all improprieties were checked, and that the meetings were held only once a month for two hours. Her majesty, he expressed his hope, would think, that by these restrictions the dangers apprehended from the prophesyings would be obviated. “Remember, madam,” said he, “that you are a mortal creature ; look not on the purple and princely array wherewith you are apparelled, but consider withal what it is that is covered therewith. Is it not flesh and blood ? is it not dust and ashes ? is it not a corruptible body, which must soon return to her earth again ?”

The primate, incurring by this liberty of remonstrance, the displeasure of his royal mistress, was confined, by an order from the Star-chamber, to his house, while his jurisdiction was sequestered for six months. By these strong measures the other prelates were intimidated ; and the prophesyings being discouraged, died away. It is generally believed, that Elizabeth’s hostility to them originated in her dislike to free inquiry, which she apprehended would indispose her liege subjects towards an absolute submission to her will.

XIV. It was soon found, however, that no checks were sufficient to hinder the Puritan interest from flourishing ; and while the conformist divines were few and lukewarm, so large was the number, and so ardent the zeal of the dissentient clergy,

that they frequently re-entered churches as curates, of which they had been dispossessed as rectors and vicars. In the mean time multitudes of popish missionaries came over into England from Douay, Rome, Valladolid, Seville, Madrid, St. Omer's, Louvaine, Liege, and Ghent, in which places nine English Catholic colleges had not long before been founded. To guard against these enemies of the English church, on the right hand and on the left, an act of parliament was now passed, awarding penalties for the saying or hearing of mass, and also for the absence of persons above sixteen years of age, from churches or chapels where the Common Prayer was used.

XV. The Family of Love, who at this time appeared in England, were a body of fanatics of obscure origin, having sprung up in Amsterdam, A. D. 1550, under the direction of Henry Nicholas, an unlettered individual, who misconstruing that beautiful passage in St. John's Gospel, chap. xvii. ver. 21, 22, 23, respecting an union of Christ's disciples, in the bonds of fraternal and heavenly charity, made the Saviour of mankind speak the language of sensuality, and turned the grace of God into lasciviousness. Nicholas, in the reign of Edward, had joined himself to the Dutch congregation, of which he had seduced the more ignorant members, having, in particular, according to Fuller, made PERVERTS of two Miss Warwicks. "These enthusiasts," adds the same writer, "allegorized

every thing, and evinced that mysteries may become blasphemies, when touched by unskilful hands. They afterwards became so intermingled with the Antinomians, that it is impossible to ascertain a limit to their several absurdities. Both, however, agreed in sinning, and in charging their sins on God's Spirit for not assisting them." The privy council, A. D. 1580, found it necessary to impose a check on such pernicious doctrines.

XVI. Another fanatical body, denominated the Brownists, arose in the year 1583. Their leader, Robert Brown, was a man of good descent, in Rutlandshire, and had received his education at Cambridge. A few years before, he had first appeared in Lincolnshire, where his vehemence attracted the admiration of the vulgar, and excited the suspicion of the wise. To give his enmity to church discipline and ceremonies "a smack of travel," he passed over into Zeeland, and sojourned some time in Middleburgh; but determining to refine on the scheme of Cartwright, whose congregation was settled in that city, he expounded his principles in a "Treatise of Reformation," of which he sent a number of copies into England; where, to follow up the blow, he soon arrived in person. His maiden essay of proselytism was made on three Dutchmen at Norwich, who in a short time surrendered their conviction, and emboldened their leader to add to his congregation several other flexible and simple persons, whom his im-

perious temper, impatient of contradiction, had selected as likely to be gained with the least trouble. Having here established a character for zeal and sanctity, Brown proceeded to other places, associating in his labours Richard Harrison a country schoolmaster. With this coadjutor he taught his several audiences that the English church was no true church; that all good Christians ought to separate themselves from its impure assemblies; and that the next step, of course, was to join him and his disciples. With them was nothing but what was unexceptionable and perfect, manifestly inspired by the Holy Ghost, and refined from alloy and profanation*. These discourses having produced their intended effect, his hearers made a total defection from the established church, and formed a new society. To justify these bold measures, Brown continued to disperse his books; but the government was not inclined to connive at such irregularities; for two of his disciples, Elias Thacker and John Copping, were indicted on the statute 23 Elizabeth, chap. 2, for distributing the "Treatises of Reformation;" and both being brought in guilty of felony, were executed at Bury St. Edmunds.

While these poor accessories met an untimely fate, the principal, having a friend at court, was fortunate enough to escape. Being summoned before Freke, the bishop of Norwich, he defended

his schism with much indecency of carriage; and was accordingly delivered into the hands of the sheriff; but the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, being his near relation, by interceding procured his enlargement. Burleigh now called him up to London, and sent him for instruction to Archbishop Whitgift, who by force of reasoning and dexterous management prevailed with him for the present to renounce his scruples, and to return into the bosom of the church.

This point being gained, his noble relative, with great prudence, recommended him to the care of his father in the country, with directions for his gentle usage. Here, however, his heterodox opinions revived, and the afflicted parent dismissed him from the family. He now entered on a course of wandering and persecution; but at one time, by a happy smile of fortune, obtained the rectory of Abschurch, in Northamptonshire. Soon after his promotion, Lindsell, then bishop of Peterborough, excommunicated him for non-appearance to a citation. He prayed, however, for absolution, and from the time of his receiving it, continued in the communion of the English church. For some breach of the peace this turbulent character was in the latter part of his life committed to Northampton gaol, where he died, A. D. 1630, in the eightieth year of his age, boasting that he had been committed to thirty-two prisons, in some of which he could not see

his hand at noon-day. Fuller, who saw him, says he was imperious and forbidding, not strict in observing the sabbath, and living in separation from the two closest ties which can bind a conscientious man on earth—his parish, and his wife. His return to the church, although it dissolved the Middleburgh party, was so far from destroying the seeds of his heresy, that Sir Walter Raleigh, in a speech made in 1592, computes no less than twenty thousand of the sect, as existing at that time in England.

Corruption was charged indiscriminately by the Brownists, on the episcopalian and presbyterian forms of church-discipline: nor, like the ancient Donatists, would they hold communion with any other reformed church, because, as they affirmed, they could not be assured of the sanctity and regeneration of its members. They condemned the solemnization of matrimony in churches, affirming marriage to be no more than a political contract, which ought only to be formed in the presence of the civil magistrate. They rejected all forms of prayer whatever; and maintained that the Lord's prayer was given only as a model: they appointed their church-officers by prayer, fasting, and imposition of hands; but they denied the priesthood to be a distinct order, and held that the laymen, who appointed any person a minister, might, by a subsequent vote, remove him from the office. Each congregation composed a separate church, possess-

ing power to make its own laws, and being amenable to no synod or corporation.—As this sect has now ceased to exist, or, rather, merged in that of the Independents, it seems needless to crowd our pages with a refutation of its errors.

XVII. Archbishop Grindall, after his sequestration, never wholly recovered the confidence and favour of the queen. He was distinguished as a learned and upright prelate: and though, by remissness, he had impoverished the archiepiscopal see, he benefited the poor of Canterbury and Lambeth by his charities, and founded the free-school of St. Bees, in Cumberland, his native place, which is to this day the northern seminary for those candidates for orders, who are precluded from the advantages of university education. He had greatly assisted in drawing up the Liturgy, and written some part of Fox's Book of Martyrs. Dying in the year 1583 *, he was succeeded in the primacy by Dr. John Whitgift, who promulgated on his accession a body of severe articles against the Puritan practices, particularly against their refusal of the habits, and praying and preaching in private families. Having proposed a form to be subscribed by the clergy, signifying their approbation of the common prayer, their acknowledgment of the queen's supremacy, and assent to the thirty-nine articles, he suspend-

* Grindall is buried in Croydon church. Holingshead says of him, that his book was his bride, and his study his bride-chamber.

ed, in his first metropolitan visitation, two hundred and thirty-three clergymen, for the refusal of their signature. This violent measure producing many complaints, both among the ejected ministers and their parishioners, the high-commission court, by direction of the queen, added new force to the proposed continuance of his severity, by appointing another court of high commission, consisting of forty-four members, having authority to inquire into misdemeanors, by witnesses, "*and all other means and ways they could devise;*" and empowered to administer to suspected persons an oath, "*ex officio.*"

This produced a correspondence betwixt Whitgift and the lord treasurer, in which the former defended himself against the accusation of the latter, who had compared, as he well might, the new commission to the Inquisition of Spain *.

XVIII. Until this time, 1586, the Puritans had no uniform rule of worship; each minister selecting at pleasure directions from the different writings of Cartwright. This divine, who had been formerly Lady Margaret's professor at Cambridge, and afterwards pastor of the church in Middleburgh, had now arranged his scheme in a regular body of discipline, which, in a general assembly of five hundred Puritan ministers, it was resolved, should

* The two letters are inserted in Collier's History, and also in Neale's.

be put in practice in all their congregations. In other synods, it was agreed, that candidates for ordination should be approved of by an assembly of ten or twelve neighbouring ministers, entitled a classis, and by their testimonials recommended to the bishop; that their ministers, in performing the public service of the church, should pass over all ceremonies enjoined by rubrics which were extracted from breviaries and missals, provided the omission could be made without danger of their suspension; but that whenever they were threatened with exclusion from their functions, the matter should be referred to the classis of the precinct; that subscription should be yielded to such of the articles, but to such only, as related to matters of faith, and the doctrine of the sacraments; that not even the dread of deposition should produce assent to the whole book of Common Prayer; and that the titles of churchwardens and collectors for the poor should be changed into those of elders and deacons. A national synod was held in London, composed of two delegates from each classis.

The only proof manifested by Whitgift of indulgence towards irregularity in church-discipline, was his at length consenting to abstain from making a demand of subscription from such ministers as were already instituted in benefices. To the scruples of candidates for the ministry, however, no arguments could persuade him to listen.

On the other hand, the Puritan party, it must be confessed, were not less pertinacious, and indisposed to concession. In one of their addresses to parliament *, we find them praying, that “all cathedral churches may be pulled down, where the service of God is grievously abused by the piping of organs, singing, ringing, and howling of psalms from one side of the choir to the other, with the squeaking of chaunting choristers, disguised, as all the rest, in filthy surplices; some in corner-caps and filthy copes, imitating the fashion of Antichrist the Pope, that man of sin and child of perdition, with his other rabble of miscreants and shavelings:” they state that “these unprofitable drones, or, rather, caterpillars of the world, consume yearly 2500, or 3000*l.*; and that the cathedrals are the dens of loitering lubbards, the harbours of time-serving hypocrites, &c.” When Walsingham, who was himself a moderate non-conformist, proposed a compromise to his party, promising to obtain a dispensation from what they termed the three shocking ceremonies; namely, kneeling at the communion, the cross in baptism, and the use of the hated surplice; they answered in the words of Moses (Exod. x. 26), “There shall not an hoof be left behind;” signifying that their minor objections to the Liturgy, in other rubrics, were still insurmountable, and not on any account to be laid aside.

* Neale, vol. i.

Every church, it may be observed, in reviewing their differences, is at liberty to appoint its own ceremonies; Scripture containing no express ordinance on this head, further than that "all things should be done unto edifying." (Rom. xiv. 19.) Wherever this caution is not observed, the liberty is unquestionably abused: and therefore it is abused by such Christian professors, as employ gaudy, unmeaning, or multiplied ceremonies; these tending to draw off our attention from that pure and spiritual worship, which consists of the homage of the heart, and the regulation of the conduct. If man were a pure intelligence, no ceremonies whatever would be either requisite or proper: but when we reflect that he is composed of body and soul, and that a great part of his knowledge comes through the medium of his senses, we cannot but allow that some accommodation to this compound condition of his nature is advisable, in prescribing a form for the direction of his public devotions. His attention must be fixed and his affections engaged, on the side of religion, by the solemn music, the "dim religious light," and the modest decorations of a church; to which ought to be conformed the grave and decent vestments of those who minister in holy things. That church, then, moves in the precise line of reason, betwixt the total exclusion of ceremonies, and an extravagant use of them, which prescribes such as shall lead attention to God, but not arrest

it on themselves; such as shall appear to be a means for raising the soul to the better performance of worship and duty, without occupying so large a place in the eye, as to be in danger of being regarded as that performance of worship and duty, itself. And of this description are the ceremonies of the church of England; not wholly regardless of chaste and modest ornaments, which may render religion more alluring, yet less magnificent than Jewish pomp, and stopping far short of the raree-show of popery. But if all ornaments of every kind be sinful, why should the Puritans wear a gown and a band?

XIX. The objections of the Puritans relative to church-discipline, were ably combated by the great Hooker, who flourished about the end of the sixteenth century. He was born at Heavy-tree, near Exeter, A. D. 1554, and being patronized by Bishop Jewell, was admitted, in 1567, as a Bible clerk in Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Sandys sent his son to Oxford, for the express purpose of being pupil to Hooker; who, he said, will teach the youth learning by instruction, and virtue by example. Happening to come wet and weary from Oxford, for the purpose of preaching at Paul's Cross in London, he in an evil hour entered a tavern in that neighbourhood, called the Shunamite's House, where the hostess, having gained his favour by her attention, persuaded him to marry the young Shunamite, her daughter Joan, who, unfortunately, proved a silly woman, and a

shrew. It was in compassion for the miseries he endured from this vixen, that Whitgift appointed him master of the Temple. Here he laid the plan of his great work ; but the noise and distraction of the situation being unfavourable to study, he solicited his patron the archbishop to remove him ; and accordingly obtained the living of Boscomb, in Wiltshire, and afterwards that of Bishop Bourne, in Kent, in which happy quietudes he finished his undertaking, A. D. 1600.

“ In the Ecclesiastical Polity the following principles are laid down : 1. The Scripture, though the only standard and law of doctrine, is not a rule for discipline. 2. The practice of the Apostles, as they acted according to circumstances, is not an invariable rule for the church. 3. Many things are left indifferent, and may be done without sin, although not expressly directed in Scripture. 4. The church, like other societies, may make laws for her own government, provided they interfere not with Scripture. 5. Human authority may interpose where the Scripture is silent. 6. Hence the church may appoint ceremonies within the limits of the Scriptures. 7. All born within the district of an established church ought to submit to it : the church is their mother, and hath a maternal power over them. 8. The laws of the church not being moral, are mutable, and may be changed according to the will of its directors *.”

Hooker's chief disquietude, while master of the Temple, was occasioned by his controversy with Travers, the afternoon lecturer, and chaplain to Secretary Cecil. While Hooker maintained in the early part of the day, that the church of Rome, though not a pure and perfect, was nevertheless a true church, and that persons who lived and died in it might be saved, if they first seriously repented of their sins of ignorance; it was affirmed by Travers, who justified his opposition by the example of St. Paul's reproof of Peter, that the church of Rome was no church at all, and that such as lived and died in its communion, could not be scripturally pronounced saved, as they held justification to be in part by works *. The field of this controversy was unfavourable to Hooker: his sermons were controversial and tedious; he strewed no flowers along the path of instruction; his style, though majestic, was hard and perplexed, a crowd of clauses being heaped up in each sentence, before it was brought to a close. Neither was he formed for the pulpit in point of delivery; he was of low stature, and weak in voice; he preserved in preaching, says one of his biographers, who seeks in vain to draw a compliment out of his imperfections, an immoveable fixedness, the emblem of his mind; and "al-

* Thus, according to the writer of Hooker's life, the morning sermon spoke the language of Canterbury, the latter that of Geneva.

though," says another, "his mind was a well of learning, his pen was a better bucket than his tongue to draw it out." His opponent, on the other hand, is described as an accomplished orator, graceful in gesture, profitable in matter, plain in method, and expressing himself in a style that had the "*indolem pietatis*." By these qualifications he gained the favour of the Templars, who in those days, it seems, took notes of the discourses; and it was observed, that, in manifestation of their preference for the lecturer, the congregation used to ebb in the morning, and to flow in the afternoon.

Travers was silenced by the high-commission court, as a minister not lawfully ordained; having been called to the sacred office by the presbytery at Antwerp. Archbishop Whitgift, interfering in the controversy, seems to have inclined to neither party*. "Not all Papists," said he, "may be saved, but only our fathers; and only some of them, and living not Papists, but in popish superstitions; and not simply might, but might by the grace of God be saved: ignorance did not make the fault no fault; but the less their fault

* In justice it must be added, that Hooker himself bore testimony to the lecturer's integrity in a letter to the primate, in which he declares, that his disputes in the Temple afforded him the greater uneasiness, as he believed in his heart his adversary to be a good man.

was in respect of ignorance, the more hope was there that God would be merciful to them."

XX. A. D. 1588.—When it was found, that, through mutual refusal of concession, the church and the Puritan party could not be brought to coalesce, the forms of decency in their controversy were dispensed with, and they retorted on each other the lowest ribaldry and slander. The Star-chamber having, in 1585, confined printing to the metropolis and the two universities, the Non-conformists, who began this buffoonery of abuse, eluded the restriction by printing their pamphlets on the continent; defending the satirical vein in which they were written, by Elijah's mockery of the priests of Baal. Of these books the object was twofold—to answer writings in defence of episcopacy; and to bring odium, personally, on the bishops. For these ends four of the most hot-headed Non-conformists, Penry, Throgmorton, Endall, and Fenner, laying their wits together, produced, under the fictitious signature of Martin Marprelate, a variety of vulgar and vile productions, of which the temper and style is sufficiently indicated by their names. There was, The Epistle to the Confocation House; Martin's Miseries; Have you any Work for a Cooper? More Work for the Cooper; and a Dialogue setting forth the tyrannical Dealing of the Bishops against God's Children *. To

* The Puritans had also a private travelling printing-press,

silence these coarse and violent clamours, Whitgift and the bishops procured a book to be gravely written, entitled, *An Admonition against Martin Marprelate*; but as this had too little of the zest of poignant satire, for the appetite of general readers, it was found better to answer a fool according to his folly; and one Tom Nash did the Puritans more harm by his tracts bearing the low titles of *Paschil and Marforius, Counter Cuff, An Almond for a Parrot, and Pappe with a Hatchet*; alias, *A Fig for my Godson, or, Crack me this Nut*: that is, *a sound Box on the Ear for the Ideot Martin to hold his Peace*: written by one that dares call a dog a dog: Imprinted by John Anoke, and sold at the Crab-tree Cudgel in Twackcoat Lane. Nash, in publishing these wretched buffooneries, assumed the name of Cuthbert Curry Knave.

XXI. It does not appear, however, that the Puritans, in a body, gave sanction to the blasphemous and insane sedition of Hacket and his two associates. This wretch affords a dreadful example of the lengths to which intemperate passions, when not restrained, may carry a human

which was discovered and seized at Manchester. The tract entitled, *Work for a Cooper*, was levelled against Cooper, bishop of Winchester. The wit consisted in calling vicars, fickers; metropolitans, paltripolitans; the convocation, the college of cater-caps: or in dedications to Whitgift, by the name of John Kankerbury, &c.—*Neale*, vol. i.

being. When a boy at school, he had sprung at his master, and having bitten off his nose in a paroxysm of resentment, had swallowed it, that it might not be replaced on its visage. It was afterwards his custom to carry away in his memory portions of the sermon delivered in church, that he might turn them into ridicule at the alehouse. The violence of his character is also illustrated by his having on one occasion stuck a dagger through the heart of the queen's picture. At length, when these dispositions had formed themselves into frenzy, he gave out at York, that the spirit of John the Baptist had transmigrated into his breast, and that he was sent to prepare the way of the Lord, previous to his second coming to judgment. Though of no learning, he had acquired an habit of uttering wild extemporaneous prayers ; and it is thought, with probability, that, like many other fanatics, he had worked himself up into a belief in his own delusion. He denounced three plagues on the inhabitants of England, the sword, a pestilence, and a famine, provided no reformation in religion should be effected within the year. His two disciples, Coppingher and Arthington, to whose acquaintance he had been introduced by Wigginton, the deprived minister of Sedbergh, in Yorkshire, conducted him to London, and publicly in Cheapside proclaimed him king of Europe. But this earthly crown, it soon appeared, was far beneath the wild blasphemer's aim ; for

when Arthington came to anoint him with the Holy Ghost, and finding him in bed, made three reverential bows, Hacket said he had already been anointed in heaven, and commanded his associates (I pen the words with reverence) to go and acquaint the city that Jesus Christ was come with his fan in his hand, to judge the sons of men: but the remainder of this narrative is so truly shocking, that I must be allowed to conclude it abruptly, by stating, that Hacket, when set on the rack, recanted his pretensions; and being afterwards condemned, died in raving and blasphemy; that Arthington submitted and received a pardon; while Coppingher starved himself to death in Bridewell. Had not much disloyalty been mingled with the doctrines of these wretches, which excites a suspicion of their having more design than enthusiasm, we should have no hesitation in condemning the court, for not consigning them to Bedlam, rather than to the scaffold. As they were introduced at an early period to Cartwright, that Puritan has been subjected to censure, and even to suspicion, for not informing the government of the rising danger; but it is certain that he gave them no encouragement, and even delivered them over to Satan; nor can we imagine that he could reasonably apprehend any danger from the ravings of three wandering unprotected visionaries, sufficient to induce him to give warning to the civil power.

XXII. It may be remembered, that several

among the martyrs in the reign of Mary, differed in prison on the subjects of predestination, free grace, and the extent of the redemption purchased by Christ. The debate on these important subjects was now renewed by Mr. Barret, fellow of Caius College, in Cambridge; and to settle it, nine articles were published at Lambeth, highly favourable to the strictest Calvinistic notions; but as they were only signed by the two primates and three bishops, they cannot with any fairness be received as at all speaking the general sense of the English church. Besides, two even of the five who signed, Hutton of York, and Young of Rochester, objected to the word “necessarily” in the clause—“the not predestinated shall be necessarily condemned;” and to the phrase, “if they will,” in the article which said “neither have all men such a measure of divine assistance, that they may be saved if they will:” objections which, it is fair to surmise, evinced, that their minds were not by any means satisfied with the extent to which such sweeping anathemas and exclusions were carried. It is true, there can be no question, that these declarations, in strength, decision, and explicitness of position, infinitely surpass the seventeenth or any other article; speaking plainly and positively, so as to leave no room for doubt, or for any two-fold explanation, of reprobation as well as election; of partial and particular predestination and grace; of assurance of salvation, and of final perseverance. It must be recollected, however, that, in point of

doctrine, the popish reliance on works was still the formidable evil; and in estimating the construction which those divines imposed on the thirty-nine articles, and on the creed of the church, allowance must be made for the bias produced in their minds, by the apprehension of a relapse into that ancient error. But whatever number of the English clergy, in the *latter* part of Elizabeth's reign, may have assented to the declarations published at Lambeth, it cannot be inferred that the same belief was held to be orthodox thirty years before, when the Articles of Religion were revised, or in the reign of Edward, when they were first drawn up. The homilies must be admitted to be a less fallible indication of the sentiments of the early reformers; and those entitled "on the nativity and the resurrection," speak a very different language from the Lambeth articles, on the extent of Christ's merits, and the possibility of falling from grace*. But concerning these points we shall treat more fully hereafter. Elizabeth expressed her displeasure against both parties, for stirring up a controversy on a point so tender and dangerous to weak and ignorant minds†.

* See Latimer's Eighth Sermon; Hooper's Preface to an Exposition of the Commandments; and The Erudition of a Christian Man.

† In the conduct of Whitgift we observe a striking inconsistency, for which it is extremely difficult to account. From the Lambeth articles, which he sanctioned and defended, he appears in the light of a determined Calvinist; yet he persecuted the Puritans, promoted Hooker, silenced Travers, and

XXIII. Few other events worthy of a place in ecclesiastical history distinguished the remainder of Elizabeth's reign, which was brought to a conclusion on the 31st of January 1603. In the character of this princess, the prominent feature to which it is the office of church history to advert, is her constant disposition to oppose and persecute the Puritans. Her dislike to that body was not so much occasioned by their declared hostility to ceremonies of which she approved, as by her discerning in their breasts an hatred as inveterate to the prerogatives of the crown, as to the rites of the established church. Her severity to the Non-conformists, however, is not to be excused; any more than her rapacity in resuming the first fruits and tenths; seizing the revenues of three sees which she kept vacant for the space of twenty years; and giving unequal impropriations in lieu of the manors and estates of bishops. To these stains on the character of Elizabeth might be

gave a living to Harmet, an eminent preacher of Anti-calvinistic doctrines.

In the year 1572, Whitgift and Cartwright had a controversy respecting church discipline and ceremonies: Whitgift contending that the Holy Scriptures were only a rule of doctrine; and his opponent asserting, that they also regulated the matters in dispute. The archbishop's fluctuation, then, in encouraging the Calvinistic sentiments, cannot with propriety be ascribed to his lukewarmness:—and to refer his promotion of Hooker and Harmet to his liberality, may be regarded, when a question of such essential importance was at issue, as producing that motive under a different name.

added her treatment of the unfortunate Mary; a suppliant, a fugitive, a relation, and a queen: but this topic belongs almost exclusively to the civil historian; the participation of the Scottish sovereign in Babington's conspiracy being, to say the least, problematical. After all, as the compliment of an enemy is the highest praise, the merits of Elizabeth will, on the whole, appear unquestionable, to those who consider the high encomium with which Neale sums up his censures of her intolerance: "But with all these blemishes Queen Elizabeth stands on record as a wise and politic princess; and though her Protestant subjects were divided about church affairs, they all discovered a high veneration for her royal person and government; on which account she was the glory of the age in which she lived, and will be the admiration of posterity."

XXIV. Several attempts were made in the course of this reign to carry bills against pluralities and non-residence; but they were strenuously resisted by the prelates in the house of lords, and deprecated in petitions from the convocation, as reducing bishops to beggary, obstructing the service in cathedrals, and extinguishing the study of divinity in the universities. Whitgift pleaded for non-residence in certain cases: such as ill health, study, enmity in the parish, or public business. He dissuaded the queen against sanctioning the proposed measures, as they would prove prejudicial, first, to her own authority of granting dispensations

to the universities, by leaving none to study within their precincts ; next, to the nobility, by depriving them of their chaplains ; as well as to the church, by leaving many to live meanly on poor benefices ; and, lastly, to the general cause of religion, by bringing it into contempt through the poverty of its ministers. At the same time he drew up a body of excellent regulations to be observed by the clergy throughout his province, which both the houses of convocation ratified. By these it was appointed that all who had only one benefice, should constantly reside on it ; those only excepted who were dispensed from residence by act of parliament, and such were obliged to employ a regular curate ; that persons possessing two benefices should divide their time betwixt them ; and that wherever they were absent one hundred and twenty days in the year, they should maintain a licensed curate : that scandalous ministers should be removed from their office : and that curates should not be dismissed without the ordinary's authority.

XXV. A few miscellaneous matters may be here thrown together, which could not be introduced according to their dates, without inconveniently breaking the chain of the narrative. The Puritans, taking their brethren of Scotland for a model, insisted, with much earnestness, on the Mosaic observation of the Sabbath. In consequence of a book published by Dr. Bound, in which diversions, feasts, bell-rings, and discourses concerning news, recreations, or business, were all

condemned as profanations, and sabbath-breaking was placed on a level with murder, though the people were indisposed to accord fully with the writer, yet much of the highly improper gaiety which had been usual on that day was now laid aside by the church party.

Cartwright, whom some have called the father of the Puritans, and of whom Beza said, that he did not believe there existed a more learned man under the sun, entertained one or two singular notions. He thought that laymen might bury the dead; and was averse from giving popish or pagan names to Christian children. This latter opinion spreading amongst the party, they began to baptize infants, with a ridiculous strictness, by the names of Discipline, More trial, Joy again, Sufficient; or with an indecent familiarity, not sanctioned by Cartwright, The Lord is near, More fruit, From above, and Free gifts. Snape, a Puritan minister, even refused to christen a child by the proposed name of Richard.

The high-commission court pressing on the Non-conformists, the oath, *ex officio*, by which they were obliged to answer all questions, and to convict themselves, it was objected to on the ground of our Saviour's example, as mentioned, John, xviii. 21; "Why askest thou me? ask them which heard me, what I have said unto them: behold, they know what I said." Cartwright and many of his brethren were committed to the

Fleet, for refusing an oath thus iniquitous and unscriptural. It cannot be denied, however, that the sentiments of many Puritans justified a strict vigilance on the part of the crown. By continuing to spread their doctrines in the season of apprehension from the Armada, when it seemed prudent to suspend internal animosities, particularly as the success of that armament would prove the destruction of the Protestant religion in all its forms, they lost the favour of Leicester and Walsingham. Martin Mar-prelate advises the parliament to put down the bishops and establish the discipline, whether Her Majesty would or not *.

* John Penry, or ap Henry, a Brownist, who was concerned in writing the tract bearing this signature, was executed in 1593, for carrying in his pocket writings against the church. The following epitaph, extracted from Weaver's Monuments, may perhaps amuse the reader, and will serve to show the taste and spirit of the opposite party :

Hic jacet ut pinus,
Nec Cæsar, nec Ninus,
Nec Petrus, nec Linus,
Nec magnus Godwinus,
Nec plus, nec minus,
Quam clandestinus,
Miser ille Martinus
Videte singuli.

O vos Martinistæ,
Et vos Brownistæ,
Et vos Barowistæ,
Et vos Atheistæ,
Et Anabaptistæ,
Et vos Hacketistæ,

Et Wiggintonistæ,
Et omnes Sectistæ,
Quorum dux fuit iste,
Lugete singuli.

At gens Anglorum,
Presertim verorum,
Necnon qui morum
Estis bonorum,
Inimici horum,
Ut est decorum,
Per omne forum
In secula seculorum
Gaudete singuli.

And some of the classes had voted bishops to be superfluous. Thus, while the Conformists and Puritans were at variance, in regard to the supremacy, to the state of the church of Rome, to church discipline, and to ceremonies, they agreed in denying freedom of conscience, and in refusing toleration, to their opponents.

The sacramental bread was still administered under different forms. An injunction of Archbishop Parker recommended the use of the wafer; though this proceeded from his loyalty, rather than his private judgment.

The principal materials for the history of this reign are contained in a series of letters written by the chief divines of England to their brethren in Geneva and Zurich. From these, of which Bishop Burnet has given an abstract, it appears, that while Beza warmly commended, Bullinger and Gualter disapproved of the resistance made on a matter so trifling as the sacerdotal vestments. But perhaps it was not quite so much to the Aaronical, or superstitious nature of the ornaments in question, that the more sensible Puritans objected, as to the principle, that the civil magistrate hath power in matters of ceremony*. On the other hand, it must be owned, that the Protestant divines, in general, both of this and the former reign, disapproved, in their private judgment, of the vest-

* Neale, vol. i. p. 98.

ments; but thought it better to comply, than desert their ministerial functions *.

In the controversy respecting the descent of Christ into hell, the Calvinists held that Christ endured the pains of the damned and the full wrath of God, upon the cross; and that Hades meant the state of the dead or invisible world; while it was affirmed by the opposite party, that Christ did not undergo the pains of the damned at all, and that his descent into hell was an actual descent into the place of punishment, to wrest the keys of death and hell out of the hands of the devil.

The objections urged by the Puritans, it may be generally observed, had three several stages: the first being directed simply against ceremonies, as relics of popery; the second, under Cartwright, against discipline, and, more particularly, against episcopal ordination; and the last, subsequently to the appearance of the Lambeth articles, in opposition to the Anti-calvinistic doctrines.

To the second objection two parties replied; the one pleading that discipline, like ceremonies, was left among indifferent matters; and the other resting on the assumed superiority of bishops by divine right. In the third of these objections the Puritans agreed with Whitgift and with many

* Bucer being asked why he did not wear a square cap, replied, "Because my head is not square."

divines, by whom they were, in other respects, opposed *.

* The following extract is made from the article concerning preaching, in the "Synodical Discipline," used by the Non-conformists, as containing the substance of all that has been written, or ever can be written, on the composition and delivery of sermons :

"He that preacheth must perform two things: the first, that his speech be uncorrupt; which is to be considered both in regard to the doctrine, that it be holy, sound, wholesome, and profitable to edification; not devilish, heretical, leavened, corrupt, fabulous, curious, or contentious; and also in respect of the manner of it, that it be proper to the place which is handled; i. e. which either is contained plainly in the very words; or if it be gathered by consequent, that the same be fit and clear, and such as may rise upon the property of the word, grace of speech, and suit of the matter; and not be allegorical, strange, wrested, or far-fetched. Now let that which is such, and chiefly which is fittest for the times and occasions of the church, be delivered. Further: let the explication, confirmation, enlargement, and application, and the whole treatise and handling of it, be in the vulgar tongue: and let the whole confirmation and proof be made by arguments, testimonies, and examples, taken only out of the Holy Scriptures, applied fitly, and according to the natural meaning of the places that are alleged.

"The second thing to be performed by him that preacheth is a reverend gravity; that is, considered first in the style, phrase, and manner of speech; that it be spiritual, pure, proper, and simple; and applied to the capacity of the people; not such as human wisdom teacheth, nor savouring of new-fangledness, nor either so affectate as may serve for pomp or ostentation, or so careless and bare, as becometh not ministers of the word of God. Secondly, It is also to be regarded, as well in ordering the voice, in which a care must be had that,

In the fifth of this reign was passed the first law for relieving the poor; who, by the destruction of the monasteries, had lost their ancient resource. A law for eating fish on Wednesday is considered as having been enacted in opposition to the Puritans, whose object was the abolition of all holidays. Another law permitted marriage to be performed at any period of the year.

By an act passed in 1558, the bishops and all incumbents were prohibited from alienating their revenues, and from letting leases of longer duration than twenty-one years, or three lives. An exception, however, was made in favour of the crown; and of this the courtiers dexterously availed themselves by procuring fictitious alienations from the clergy to the queen, by whom the lands were transferred to the purchaser: an abuse not remedied till the reign of James I.

Suffragan bishops were continued in the English church down to the year 1592. These, anciently called chorepiscopi, were titular bishops appointed for the purpose of exercising several

avoiding always the keeping of one tune, it may be equal, and both rise and fall by degrees; as also in ordering the gesture, wherein the body being upright, the guiding and ordering the whole body is to follow the voice, there being avoided in it all unseemly gestures of the head or other parts, and often turning of the body to divers sides. Finally, let the gestures be grave, modest, and seemly; not utterly none, nor too much neither, like the gestures of plays or fencers."

functions of the real bishop, during his necessary absence on public business. They confirmed, ordained, and dedicated churches. By 26 Hen. VIII. ch. 14, a number of towns were assigned as the sees of suffragans. It was the custom for the bishop to nominate two persons, one of whom was appointed by the king.

By a survey taken in 1585 and 1586, it appeared, that there were only two thousand preachers throughout the kingdom, to serve nearly ten thousand parishes. This survey was drawn up under eight columns, agreeably to the following plan: 1. Name of Benefice. 2. Yearly Value. 3. Number of Souls. 4. Incumbent's Name; and whether a Preacher. 5. If other Benefices; and if Curates. 6. His Conversation. 7. By whom ordained. 8. The Patron.

Aylmer, bishop of London, enjoined, in his charge of 1585, that such among the clergy as were unable to preach, should be taxed at four purchased sermons a year.

XXVI. England was too bright a gem in the tiara to be relinquished without active efforts for its recovery: consisting in part of overtures for a reconciliation, but more particularly demonstrated by the excommunicating of Elizabeth, and the instigating of several attempts against her life. These schemes, with the designs of the king of Spain to invade her dominions, and the endeavours of Catholic priests to

seduce her subjects from their allegiance, form some palliation of the severities exercised in the latter part of her reign against the Catholic party. The Catholics had further rendered themselves obnoxious, by stimulating the opposition of the Non-conformists, to which they were prompted by reflecting that it was their interest to show that the Reformers could not agree amongst themselves. We may state, however, in justice to Elizabeth, that it appears from a letter written by Walsingham to the secretary of France, that she wished to tolerate both the Catholic and Puritan recusants, if it could have been found practicable without danger to the state *.

* Burnet, vol. ii. Neale, vol. i.

APPENDIX TO THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH.

GROUNDS ON WHICH THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND
 SEPARATED FROM THAT OF ROME.

In this place it seems proper to give a brief statement of the grounds on which the English church separated from that of Rome. We may premise that the Romish church, and the ancient Jewish establishment, had this one distinguishing feature in common, that both were the true church, but stood in need of reformation, because, amongst other reasons, the members of each had corrupted the truth by traditions, and by teaching, for doctrines, the commandments of men. It has appeared that the innovation introduced by Henry VIII. was rather a renunciation of papal supremacy, than of superstitious observances and doctrinal errors. In the reign of his son and successor, was begun, and in that of Queen Elizabeth completed, upon principles of piety and sound reasoning, a systematic separation from a deteriorated body, whose corruptions had been accumulating for a succession of ages. The reasons by which the English reformers were urged to alter the religion then established, are comprehensively stated in a charge, delivered by Shute, the present Bishop of Durham, in the year 1806. According to that prelate, whose pamphlet shall be taken

as a text-book, the grounds of objection and dissent are five :

“ First, The doctrines of the church of Rome are derogatory from the honour due to God the Father, by establishing THE WORSHIP OF IMAGES* ;” which, if it be literally practised by the common people, it is in vain to allege is not designed by their superiors. According to Bellarmine, however, images are to be worshipped, “ ita ut ipsæ terminent venerationem, et non solum ut vicem gerant exemplaris—that is, the worship rests in themselves, and not relatively to any thing else.” —Bellarm. de Imag. lib. ii. c. xxi.

By this custom, the first and second Commandments, “ Thou shalt have none other gods but me ; thou shalt not make unto thyself any graven image to bow down unto,” are plainly violated.

Partly against this error the Twenty-second Article is levelled ; and that that article is founded in Scripture is further evident from Deut. vii. 15, “ Cursed is the man that maketh ANY graven image ;” and from 1 John, v. 21, “ Little children, keep yourselves from idols.”

Paul is described as lamenting, that the renowned city of Athens should be wholly given to idolatry, Acts, xvii. 16 ; and as telling the inhabitants, that they ought not to think that the

* Porteus on Roman Errors. Burnet, Hist. Ref. vol. iii. p. 264. Bishop of Durham's Charge.

Godhead is like unto gold or silver, or stone, graven by art and man's device." xvii. 29. In his Epistle to the Romans, he condemns those, who changed the glory of the incorruptible God, into an image made like to corruptible man; while he commends his Thessalonian converts for having "turned from idols, to serve the living and true God." Rom. i. 23. 1 Thessal. i. 9.

In conformity with these passages, almost every ecclesiastical writer of the first four centuries, argues against the image-worship practised by the Gentiles, as contrary to Scripture, and to the spiritual nature of God. In the last general council, that of Trent, it was decreed, that "due worship should be given to images;" and several regulations were added upon the subject, which are still in force, in Roman Catholic countries.

Popish countries have still images of Christ: that they have, or had, those of the Deity, made from Dan. vii. 22; or holding a globe, from no scripture; and others of the Trinity, from Genesis, xviii. 2, appears from the Rhemish Testament, on Acts, xvii. 29, where such representations are defended*.

Secondly, "The Romish doctrines are deroga-

* Pictures of the Father Almighty, whom no man hath seen, or can see (1 Tim. vi. 16), must lead the ignorant into mean ideas of him, and the intelligent to contempt of the religion in which they are used. Bishop Porteus from Secker. —See Psalm cxv. 8, 9.

tory, in an equal degree, from the glory of God the Son. By PRAYERS, ADDRESSED TO THE SAINTS AND ANGELS, Christ, the Mediator, is dishonoured*." "He ALONE," it is said, "ever liveth to make intercession for them that come unto God by him, and is able to save them to the uttermost." Heb. vii. 25. And again, "There is ONE Mediator betwixt God and man." 1 Timothy, ii. 5. Christ, as he is one with the Father, is the object of prayer; and since to him, in this view, are applicable the words, "Oh! thou that hearest prayer, unto thee shall all flesh come;" he is, equally with the Father, dishonoured by any petitions, that are preferred to an inferior being. Further, as we are commanded to ask in faith, all prayer must be vain where there is no faith; and none is authorized by the word of God, in invocations presented to saints. Even the best saints, the holy Apostles, while on earth, rejected the adoration sometimes offered to them by mistaken piety. Cornelius fell at Peter's feet, and worshipped; but that Apostle raised him from the ground, saying, "Stand up; I myself also am a man." Acts, x. 25, 26. "I fell," says St. John, in the Book of Revelations, xix. 10, "I fell at the angel's feet, to worship him; and he said, See thou do it not; for I am thy fellow-servant: worship God."

* Bishop of Durham's Charge.

Add to this, that, as St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Colossians, ii. 18, prohibits the worshipping of angels; men, who are made lower than the angels (Heb. ii. 7), are still less the objects of a lawful adoration *.

Saint-invocation was wholly unknown in the church, at least till after the middle of the fourth century. The church of Smyrna thus writes, in a letter relating to the dead body of Polycarp, which the Jews had burnt through pretended fear of its being dug up, and worshipped: "These men are ignorant that Christians worship Christ alone."—Euseb. Ep. lib. iv. c. 15. A. D. 175. Athanasius, Cyril, Basil, and other fathers who flourished in the middle of the fourth century, prove the divinity of Christ by the custom of invoking him, in which they say he is distinguished from angels and other creatures. About the end of the fourth century, the practice of invoking saints took its rise from the orations pronounced in memory of the first martyrs, to whom an apostrophe was introduced as a rhetorical ornament; and even this at first guarded with the cautious

* Arguments against saint-worship, it may here be remarked, are sufficient to condemn the WORSHIP OF RELICS; since the relics of saints are not more holy or worthy of adoration than themselves. The woman whose cure is recorded in Matt. ix. 22, touched, but did not adore, the hem of our Saviour's garment; nor was it the virtue of that garment, but her faith, which made her whole.

qualification, "If there be any sense or knowledge of what we do below." In the progress of ignorance, litanies were made for the saints; and the council of Trent declared, that "it is useful to invoke them, in order to procure their assistance in asking God for blessings through Christ."

That angel and saint worship is not abolished in the Catholic church, appears from a book entitled, "The Christian's Guide to Heaven," printed by Keating, in 1808, and quoted by Bishop Huntingford, in his Charge of 1810. It contains a prayer to our guardian angel, to the blessed Virgin, and to a patron saint. In the Litany of the Roman Missal, as cited in the same Charge, occur the petitions—

Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis;

Omnes sancti Angeli, et Archangeli, orate pro nobis;

*Omnes sancti Apostoli, et Evangelistæ, orate pro nobis; &c. **

It is pretended by the Roman Catholics, that the invocation of saints is not an act of worship, but the transmission of a prayer to the Deity,

* See also Bishop Porteus's Confutation, from Secker.—"Empress of heaven, Mother of mercy, the only hope of sinners, free us from all sin," &c. are the words in which the Virgin is addressed. St. Joachim, her father, is also addressed. In the Rosary, ten addresses are made to her, for one to God; yet she is seldom mentioned in the New Testament, in the Acts once, and in the Epistles and Revelations not at all.

through the hands of beings who stand near his throne. But when I ask my friend, the secretary, or servant, of a great man, to intercede for me with his master, and by that means obtain a favour, how natural is it for me to forget the original donor, and to offer all my acknowledgments to the underling who has promoted my suit! And is not this, I would ask, the effect actually produced among the great body of the Catholic people? Is it not the effect produced on the lazaroni of Naples, with respect to their favourite patron, St. Januarius? Do we not read, in English history, that the devotion towards Becket had quite effaced, in Canterbury, the adoration of the Deity? that while, in one year, nothing was laid on the altar of God, and that of the Virgin gained a few pounds and shillings, the offerings at the shrine of the murdered prelate exceeded nine hundred and fifty-four pounds?—HUME, Hist. Hen. VIII.

“ Thus the Roman Catholics rely more on the intercession of the Saint, than of the Saviour. Secure, as they imagine, of the favour of the courtier, they pay little regard to the sovereign. And thus, is the heathen multitude of deities brought silently back into Christianity.”—Bishop of Chester, from Secker.

But the PENANCES imposed by the Catholics as acts of atonement, are likewise injurious to the honour of Christ, as the great and only sacrifice

for sin. For St. John, in his first general Epistle, affirms (1 John, i. 7), that the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth us from all sin. Since the shedding of which, St. Paul acquaints the Hebrews, that "there remaineth no more sacrifice for sins." Heb. x. 26. Christians, in practising works of holiness, are not to rest upon their validity as a propitiation (for "Christ is the propitiation for our sins," 1 John, i. 2), but must regard them merely as a proof of faith in that great and sole propitiation.

Penance, as here objected to, is the corruption of a practice, which prevailed in the ancient church, of not receiving back into its bosom those who had apostatized through fear of persecution, until they had first publicly confessed their offence. From public sins, this act of discipline, in time, became extended to private transgressions; for which the offender was subjected to a public confession and reproof; to acts of mortification, and a temporary exclusion from the eucharist: but an open acknowledgment of private offences being found, in many cases, indelicate and improper, the confession was afterwards made in private, while the publicity of the penance was retained. We find, however, that, in the fifth century, this was submitted to with much reluctance; that it then began to be performed in monasteries, or in the presence of a small number of witnesses; till, in the end of the seventh

century, public penance, for private sins, was altogether abolished.

As superstition advanced, the people were induced to confess their offences, of every description, to the priest, by the hope of absolution, which they were taught to entertain, on CONDITION of their performing certain prescribed acts of prayer, alms-giving, and self-infliction, as relating to God, our neighbour, and ourselves.

These acts may be innocent, proper, and, most of them, even indispensable, when considered, in themselves, as acts of faith and repentance; indeed, our thirty-third article prescribes an open reconciliation, by PENANCE, of an excommunicated person into the church; and though this, it is true, have chiefly reference to the reparation due to the offended society of the faithful, the necessity of the constituent parts of penance, of contrition, of confession to God, and sometimes to his minister, and of acts of self-denial, and restitution, for reinstating a penitent in the divine favour, through Christ, is, undoubtedly, an orthodox and wholesome doctrine, only denied in the creed of Antinomianism. It is to these acts, as the immediate PRICE of absolution, that the reformed church objects; and that they are so regarded, at least by the common people among the Catholics, it will not be deemed uncandid to affirm, by those who consider that the quantum of prayers and fastings, and, in many

cases, of alms, necessary to the procurance of absolution, is settled by the priest*.

God the Son is, moreover, dishonoured, by the Catholic form of administering the sacrament to the laity, only in one kind.

It is maintained by the Romanists, that, since the blood is in the body, the wafer must, consequently, contain the whole. If this be the case, what reason can be assigned for the priest's receiving the cup separately? But the sacrament is a commemoration of the manner of Christ's death, in which blood flowed from the body, and

* With respect to absolution, I may not, perhaps, have a better opportunity than the present, of observing, that the English church is charged by the Catholics, with admitting a form of personal acquittal, in the office for the communion of the sick. But that, even there, in the words "I absolve thee," introduced at that awful moment when every consolation is necessary, and when the sincerity of the penitent is hardly to be questioned, our church signifies something different from the Catholic doctrine, as expressed by the Council of Trent, which anathematized those who maintained "*absolutionem sacramentalem sacerdotis non esse actum judiciale, sed nudum ministerium pronunciandi et declarandi remissa esse peccata*;" that in this, I say, we differ from the Catholic church is most certain, since the form alluded to is followed by a prayer; which would be superfluous, on the supposition of a judicial act; and which implies a denial of the priest's full authority to absolve, in any other language than the following: "If the Searcher of hearts sees your faith and penitence to be sincere, I declare to you, that, for the sake of Christ, your sins are remitted."

was, in this manner, separated from it. If any distinction were to be made at all, it would, more plausibly, be an exclusion of some from the bread; for our Lord, in distributing it, said only, "Take, eat;" while the word *ALL* is added in administering the cup. Drink ye *ALL* of this (Matt. xxvi. 27), said Christ himself; and all did drink of it, as we learn in St. Mark's Gospel, xiv. 23. Nor is it here of any avail to pretend, that priests only were then present; for, in the eleventh chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, these converts to the Christian faith are, in general, expressly required to drink of the cup. Indeed, the reason assigned by our Lord, at the first administration of this indispensable part of the eucharist, "For this is my blood, of the new testament, or covenant, shed for the remission of sins," is a sufficient ground for an universal participation of it, since all are members of the new covenant, and all have sins to be remitted. The text, 1 Cor. xii. 13, gives the same universality to baptism, and the Lord's supper; while it uses the term, "*DRINKING*" for the latter. The cup, 1 Cor. xi. 27, is called, pre-eminently, the cup of the Lord; "Eat of this bread, and drink of this cup."

It is urged, that, in the New Testament, the phrase, "breaking of bread," often occurs by itself. To this, however, there are several replies; 1, In some places, it does not signify the

eucharist, as in Luke, xxiv. 30, 31. 2. It does not follow that wine did not accompany the bread, because, occasionally, it may not be mentioned. And 3dly, if it did, it would prove too much; for the priest ought, in that case, to consecrate only bread.

That, in the early ages of the church, the laity, as well as the clergy, communicated in both kinds, is indisputably proved by the unanimous testimony of the fathers, and by all the ancient rituals and liturgies. Nay, in the fifth century, Pope Gelasius, having learned that the Manicheans, who, in imitation of the Rechabites of old, tasted no wine on any occasion, would partake only of the bread in the eucharist, decreed, that the sacrament could not be divided, and that all persons should either consent to receive in both kinds, or be entirely excluded. It was at a much later period, that the doctrine of transubstantiation gave rise to the distinction observed by the Roman Catholics, betwixt the clergy and laity, in communicating: it being found difficult to administer the cup to the latter, without sometimes spilling a part of that fluid, which was believed to be changed into the actual blood of Christ; and this difficulty not being removed by the expedients first devised, the sopping of the bread in the wine, and the pouring of the liquid through tubes into the mouths of the communicants. Both in the council of Constance, however, A. D. 1414, and in that

of Trent, 1549, the common participation of clergy and laity in both kinds, is admitted to have been the practice among the primitive Christians.

“This sacrilegious practice, then, no doubt,” says the Bishop of Durham, in a pamphlet subsequent to his Charge *, “originated in the doctrine of transubstantiation, in concurrence with another pernicious doctrine, that the judgment of the church is superior to the authority of Scripture. In the most ancient sects of heathen philosophy, every judgment submitted to the authority of the founder: his word was decisive on every subject: *αυτος εφαι* was sufficient to silence every dispute. But the church of Rome shows much less submission to the authority of Christ. One most important instance of Christian duty, they have no scruple of superseding by the commandments of men. ‘The cup of blessing which we bless,’ says St. Paul, ‘is it not the communion of the blood of Christ?’ Yet this inestimable privilege of Christians, the Romish church refuses to ad-

* The Bishop's Charge has given rise to a controversy in his diocese, betwixt a Catholic vindicator, and some of his Lordship's clergy: many of the pamphlets have not reached London, or obtained a general circulation, but the Bishop has summed them up, in a tract, entitled, “The Grounds on which the Church of England separated from the Church of Rome, reconsidered;” from which the extract in the text has been transcribed.

minister to the lay-members of her communion. And this sacrilegious mutilation of Christ's ordinance, Papists do not reprobate, but defend." P. 21.

But, to return to the enumeration delivered in the Charge: The Romanists are there accused, in the third place, of detracting from the honour due to God the Holy Ghost. For it is the tendency of the *multifarious ritual observances*, on which they are known to lay great stress, to alienate the mind from spiritual worship, with which it is the will of God to be approached. John, iv. 24. Nor is the Catholic doctrine of *works of supererogation*, less derogatory to the honour of the third Person in the Trinity. How can one man have any merit, much more any superfluous merit, to transfer to another? "If we are not justified by works, we cannot be MORE than justified by them. If our Christian virtues are themselves imperfect, and only accepted through Christ, we can have no merits at our disposal. If all men are sinners, they want all their merit for themselves, and more than all. In the Lord's Prayer we desire God to forgive our trespasses. We are commanded to love God with ALL our heart; to do ALL to the glory of God; can we do more? we are bought with a price; have such persons any services to give away? 1 Cor. vi. 20. There is no abiding-place where we may stop, as though we were already perfect, and say, Here I

am ; I need make no further advancement in virtue. We are to press forward ; we are to run so as to obtain ; to STRIVE to enter in at the strait gate." HEY's Lectures, vol. iii.

Again : If there be any thing good in our conduct, it is given us from the Holy Ghost, and not from our brethren ; for we learn in John, iii. 27, that " a man can receive nothing, except it be given him from above ;" from whence we infer, that to attribute it to any of our brethren, is to insult the Holy Ghost, the real giver. Besides, all that man can do of good, is to comply with the influences of the Spirit ; but he may also, and often does, quench them ; and, therefore, ought to say, when he has done his best, he is an unprofitable servant, not only since what he has done is owing to the grace of God, and not to be ascribed to his own merit, but also, as he has not done all which he ought to have done, not even all which he might have done. If this, then, be the true condition of every man, no one can do MORE than what he ought to have done.

A fourth ground of reasonable separation from the church of Rome, is stated by the Bishop of Durham, to be its belief in the efficacy of PARDONS AND INDULGENCES.

Power had been given to the bishops by the council of Nice, to remit, according to circumstances, part of the penalties, which the church

inflicted by general rules upon transgressors : a privilege which the Popes in a few centuries took into their own hands, as a convenient instrument of their avarice, or of their desire to establish a tyranny over consciences ; no longer granting the indulgence in extenuated cases, but openly disposing of it to the licentious and dissolute, and pretending that their power extended from a remission of earthly penance, to a release from the pains of PURGATORY. That this power is unfounded in Scripture, is certain, because it appears from 1 John, i. 19, that simple confession of sins, supported by faith and repentance, will obtain, through Christ, the pardon of God, and our cleansing from all unrighteousness, unaccompanied by any adventitious aids. The texts, Matt. xvi. 19, and John, xx. 23, produced by the Catholics in support of the granting of pardons, do not permit the agent of God to exceed his powers as agent, or to assume the powers of God himself, who alone judging of hearts, can alone from himself forgive sins.

The passages, Matt. xviii. 18, and John, xx. 23, did not put it in the power even of the Apostles, much less of other ministers, to remit or to retain sins, according to their pleasure. They could use the keys of heaven, says Secker, no further, than He saw fit, who openeth, and no man shutteth ; who shutteth, and no man openeth. Yet the Apostles had the power of dis-

cerning, by the Spirit, who were penitent ; and of inflicting miraculous punishments on those who were not so, which was retaining their sins. These powers are not given to their successors*.

In regard to purgatory, it may suffice to quote the following words of Archbishop Secker : “ Blessed,” says the Angel, “ are the dead that die in the Lord, from henceforth (from the hour of their death) ; for they rest from their labours.” Rev. xiv. 13. But miserable, says the church of Rome, are many of the dead that die in the Lord, for a long time after ; for they rest not from their labours, but labour under most grievous sufferings.”—See Isaiah, xxviii. 15, 17, 18.

KEEPING THE SCRIPTURES from the common people, and reading them in churches in an unknown tongue, is the last Romish corruption assigned by the reverend prelate, in enumerating his reasons for separation. This was not a point established and maintained for the first six hundred or eight hundred years, in the Christian church. In the works of Jerome, who died A. D. 420, it is stated, that at the funeral of the disciple Paula, which was flocked to by numbers from all parts,

* “ I have now in my possession,” says Secker, “ a plenary indulgence, granted for a small piece of gold at Rome, this very year 1745, to an absolute stranger, for himself, for his kindred to the third degree, and to thirty persons more, for whose names a proper blank is left in the instrument.”—Confutation, p: 54.

psalms were sung in four languages—Hebrew, Syriac, Greek, and Latin, that every one might understand some part of the service. The council of Trent, although it orders explanations of the mass to be given by the officiating priests, anathematizes those who say that that service should be performed only in the vulgar tongue; and the Rhemish Testament says less expressly, “It is not necessarie to understand our prayers.”

The exhortation, John, v. 39, Search the Scriptures, is addressed to the people in general; and the Bereans were accounted more honourable than others, because they searched the Scriptures daily, which must be understood as relating to the congregation at large. “Let all things be done to edifying,” says the Apostle, 1 Cor. xiv. 26; but how can this be done in a language unknown to the congregation? Again: since all divine worship is an act of the mind more than that of the body, it must follow, that the worship which the mind cannot accompany, is an impious and absurd superstition. Before this doctrine can be established by the Catholics, the whole of the fourteenth chapter of the first of Corinthians must be blotted from the sacred volume. “If I know not the meaning of the voice, I shall be to him that speaketh, a barbarian.” (Ver. 11.) “Yet in the church I would rather speak five words with my understanding, that by my voice I might teach others also, than ten thousand words in an un-

known tongue." (ver. 19.) When we attend to actual scriptural practice, did Christ, let us ask, speak in an unknown tongue? When the gift of tongues was bestowed on the Apostles, can we believe that they were to make use of it in preaching to strangers, and not likewise in leading the prayers of their converts? If it be urged, that prayers, though read by priests in Latin, are rendered here intelligible by being translated into English; the very argument shows the expedience of reading them in English: for many cannot read, or have not books, or follow the officiating priest by guess.

That unlearned and unstable men may wrest Scripture to their own destruction, affords no reason for withholding Scripture, as the abuse of liberty should not restrain the possession of it. Is there no danger of being destroyed for lack of knowledge? (Hosea, iv. 6.)

To this statement, in which the five positions of the Bishop of Durham have been supported by historical and scriptural proofs, it has been judged proper to add a sketch of the other points of difference betwixt the Protestant and Roman Catholic churches. It is maintained by the former, *the the holy Scriptures*, exclusively, contain all things necessary to salvation; so that nothing but what is read therein is required as an article of faith: in opposition to which, the Papists believe that there is a body of TRANSMITTED DOCTRINES AND PRECEPTS, to judge of the authenticity of

which the church * has received from Christ an infallible authority. The Jews, it appears, had many traditions ; but our Saviour, who frequently quotes Moses and the Prophets, instead of referring to these oral laws, informs his hearers that they made the word of God of none effect by their

* To this statement it is fair and proper to add, that the intelligent members of the Catholic body have of late publicly disavowed a belief in the efficacy of indulgences. Neither does it appear that they acknowledge the infallibility of the Pope, or his power to absolve them from an oath ; or the duty of keeping no faith with heretics. That well-informed Catholics do not immediately worship images, or offer up prayers to angels and saints, we may, in candour, be disposed to believe ; yet a fear may be expressed at the same time, lest the distinctions drawn on this head are too nice to be observed or understood by the vulgar. The most exceptionable and detestable article in the Catholic religion is the exclusion of Christians of every other description from all hopes of salvation ; and this point is expressly inculcated in the abstract of the Douay Catechism :

Q. What is the church ?

A. It is the congregation of all the faithful under Christ Jesus, their invisible Head, and his vicar on earth the Pope.

Q. How is the church one ?

A. Because all that belong to the true church of Christ are of one faith and communion, and all obey one authority.

Q. Why may not a man be saved in any church or religion ?

A. Because there is but one God, one faith, one baptism. For God alone being the Author of true religion, cannot reveal many without contradicting himself, which cannot be advanced without committing blasphemy. (P. 28.)—This is the catechism which Catholic children are taught in London, and I believe every where throughout the British dominions.

traditions, and worshipped him in vain, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men. (Matt. xv. 6. Mark, vii. 7.) Hence we may infer, that it is not probable that he should have imparted his own doctrines and precepts, partly by writing, and partly by tradition. Both the apostles and fathers mention the Scriptures as a complete rule of faith: "From a child," says St. Paul to Timothy (2 Tim. iii. 15, 16, 17), "thou hast known the holy Scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus. All Scripture is given by the inspiration of God, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works." And the same Apostle writes to the Galatians, i. 8, 9, "Though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other Gospel to you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed," &c. "Beware, lest any man spoil you through vain deceit, after the tradition of men, and not after Christ." (Col. ii. 8 *.)

* With these declarations accord the opinions of Irenæus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Chrysostom, and Basil. To prescribe the conditions of salvation, in short, belongs to God alone; and since he has declared what is sufficient, to add must be as improper as to take away. The council of Trent anathematizes those who do not receive both their Scriptures, according to the ancient Vulgate, and their traditions. It is admitted by us, that the Thessalonian disciples had some verbal, as well as written instructions; but they were local and temporary; and we have no PROOF of what they were.

A claim to INFALLIBILITY has been set up by the church of Rome, which the English church opposes in her nineteenth article, by asserting that the former church hath erred in living, in ceremonies, and in matters of faith. That she hath erred in ceremonies and doctrine has been already proved, and, as we proceed, will receive confirmation : that she hath erred in living, is true, even of her heads, whether we regard their practice or their belief. Many popes were men of profligate lives ; and, in point of doctrine, Liberius was an Arian, Zosimus a Pelagian, and Honorius a Monothelite *.

Our twenty-first article denies the supreme authority of GENERAL COUNCILS ; their power of assembling without the consent of princes ; and their right to impose any obligation not founded in Scripture. Our limits will not permit us to enter into any history of councils. A list of them, from that of Jerusalem, under St. James, to that of Trent, 1545, may be found in Playfair's Chronology. Of that of Jerusalem it is proper to observe, that the members were under the special

* All the verses produced by the Catholics, in support of their doctrine of infallibility (John, xvi. 13. 1 John, ii. 20. Matt. xxviii. 20. 2 Cor. vi. 16), must be of different import from that which is pretended. The Holy Ghost is capable of guiding into all truth, as he is willing to dwell in us ; but we may reject him in both cases ; we may err if we will, as we may sin if we will.—See Bishop Porteus's Confutation, from Secker, Introd.

guidance of the Holy Spirit. Of the first four general councils, the decrees are to be respected as speaking the sense of the early church : as the waters of a stream are purest near its source. With respect to later councils, they were often disorderly, and hostile to the papal power ; sometimes convoked not to argue points, but to overbear, by pretended consultations. Bishops are frail and fallible men, both individually, and when assembled in council : and therefore the Rhemish Testament, on Acts, xv. 28, speaks falsely in saying that “ councils cannot err.” Bishops cannot go into other dominions, and therefore cannot assemble, without the will of their respective princes : see Rom. xiii. 1. Lastly, Scripture alone is a rule, containing all that is necessary to salvation. (2 Tim. iii. 15, 16, 17.) As to the interpretation of Scripture, the preaching of God’s ministers, like the writings of other interpreters, is no doubt to be attended to ; but they ought not to advance a claim of perfect infallibility : “ not that we have dominion over your faith ; but are helpers of your joy.” (2 Cor. i. 24.)

Christ, to use the words of our Catechism, hath ordained only TWO SACRAMENTS in his church : baptism, and the supper of the Lord. Thus we positively deny that Catholic doctrine, which assigns the name of Sacraments to five other ordinances ; viz. CONFIRMATION, PENANCE, ORDERS, MATRIMONY, and EXTREME UNCTION. A sacrament

is an outward sign of a covenant between God and man, instituted by God himself, for a pledge of our justification, and a means of grace. Now since to institute the sign can belong to Him only, who has power to accompany it with grace, there can be no more sacraments, in the full and proper extent of the definition, than he hath appointed. That he hath appointed two, corresponding with the above-mentioned definition, is a point on which Catholics and Protestants are agreed. In Matt. xxviii. 19, an account is given of the institution of baptism: "Go ye, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;" while its meaning and efficacy are described in Acts, ii. 38; "Repent and be baptized, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost." In like manner the institution and design of the other sacrament may be seen in 1 Cor. xi. 23, 24, 25, 26: "Jesus took bread, &c.; and after supper the cup; saying, This do in remembrance of me;" compared with 1 Cor. x. 16: "The cup of blessing which we bless, the bread which we break, are they not the communion of the blood and body of Christ?" Justin Martyr, A. D. 155; Tertullian, A. D. 198; Cyril, Augustine, and Chrysostom, join the two sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper, and speak of no other. Peter Lombard, in the twelfth century, was the bold innovator, who first asserted the sacraments to be seven: a doc-

trine likewise taught by Eugenius IV. A. D. 1459. The council of Trent confirmed it by a decree; and Pius IV. inserted it in his new creed. In considering the other rites, we must distinguish betwixt an allowable ordinance, promoting the more decent performance of devotion; and a federal act attended with an ordained and external sign of inward grace. Now it is contended that the five rejected sacraments are not regular institutions of Christ and his Apostles, accompanied with a command for their being continued, and a promise of annexed grace *. Imposition of hands (Acts, viii. 14, &c.) was not peculiar to confirmation (Matt. xix. 13, &c.); and no efficacy is ascribed to it distinctly from the accompanying prayers. As to extreme unction, as mentioned in Matt. vi. 13; and James, v. 14; it was a symbolical act, accompanying a miraculous cure, performed by the Apostles, on the body; not for the good of the soul in the moment of its separation: nor is it mentioned among the canons of councils, or lives of saints, in the first six centuries of the church.

In the doctrine of TRANSUBSTANTIATION, which expressly asserts the bodily, real presence of Christ in the sacrament, the Roman Catholics are at variance with the members of the English church, by whom only a spiritual presence, dis-

* See the homily on prayer and sacraments, octavo, p. 276-277.

coverable by faith, is admitted. It was not until the eighth century that the doctrine of the real presence was advanced by preachers having more zeal than sober judgment, who imposed a literal interpretation on the words, "This is my body, and blood." It was first publicly avowed by the Romish church A. D. 1215, before which time it had been promulgated by Lanfranc in England: although the word transubstantiation had not then been coined. Luther, and, it is thought, Melancthon likewise, softened the doctrine into consubstantiation, or the combined presence of the bodily substance of Christ, with the bread and wine, in the eucharist. (Fox's Martyrology, vol. ii. page 457.) Zuinglius, the chief opponent of Luther in the reformed church, considered the sacramental elements, as symbols and signs: "but it does not appear to me," says Professor Hey, "that he did not look upon the sacrament as a commemoration of a sacrifice." Transubstantiation was taught and generally held during the whole reign of Henry VIII. but rejected in the article of 1552. Elizabeth, wishing to comprehend both Lutherans and moderate Papists within the pale of the English church, made some alteration in the expression of the twenty-eighth article; and spoke of incorporation, and spiritual eating of the sacrament, in the second book of Homilies. According to Bishop Hoadly, it is a bare memorial, like a solemn anniversary dinner; of which good and bad might partake: to Bishops

Warburton and Cleaver, a spiritual feast upon a commemorated sacrifice; of which the benefits are present to the faithful and appropriated by faith *.

Transubstantiation is contradicted by reason and the senses. The sacrament of the eucharist was instituted and partaken of, *previously* to the death of Christ; Christ was himself the person who distributed the tokens of his body and blood; how impiously absurd to believe or to say, he brake and distributed himself, and was really present in each part of the bread and wine taken by the Apostles, while he sate at meat with them! A thing, when once changed, retains no longer its former appearance, but Christ's body did. Can the body of Christ be compressed into a small wafer: and can thousands of these be all bodies of Christ? can the body of Christ be at once at the right hand of God, and at the right hand of the priest? "Before any one can believe this," says Secker, "he must comply with the direction in the English manual of prayers before mass, 1725, p. 409: 'Herein I utterly renounce the judgment of my senses, and all human understanding.'" The Apostles were forbidden by the Jewish law, which Christ and they had ever observed, to drink blood of any kind: can Christ be supposed, then, to have commanded them to drink HIS, in a literal sense? In fact, as the

* See Church Catechism, the two answers before the last.

paschal lamb was the preceding, the sacrament is (if we may so speak) the posterior antitype of the sacrifice of Christ's death; neither being the thing itself. At its first institution it was still a type: "This is my body," said our Lord, "which is broken, &c." whereas, in fact, it was not yet broken, nor his blood shed. The text, also, 1 Cor. xi. 27, 28, calls the sacramental elements "this bread and this cup;" and that in St. Matthew, xxvi. 29, "the fruit of the vine," even after consecration: nay, the canon of the mass itself prays that the eucharist may BECOME to the receivers the body and blood of Christ; a plain proof that it is not so in itself; and if it be pretended that in the mass it is the descent of the Holy Ghost which is supposed to change the substance of the elements, we reply, that the prayer for this descent is uttered some time after the words, "This is my body &c.;" so that if transubstantiation be proved from that descent, all argument from these latter words is taken away; but if from the words themselves, it is not the descent of the Spirit on which a change depends, and, consequently, the prayer is unnecessary and unmeaning*.

To all this it is to be added, that the doctrine of transubstantiation is plainly contradicted by the

* Bishop Ridley's defence, in the day of his trial, rested on 1 Cor. xi. 26: "TILL he come," said that divine, "shows that Christ is not come in the sacrament."

testimony of our senses; which see and taste the bread and wine, after their consecration.

More than twenty of the early fathers speak of our Saviour's words as to be understood only in a figurative sense; and there is not a single authority on the opposite side, in the first seven centuries after Christ. Transubstantiation further destroys the very nature of a sacrament, by confounding the outward sign and the inward grace; identifying the sign and the thing signified.

But the words of St. John, vi. 53, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you," are triumphantly brought forward by the Catholics in their vindication. In answer, let it be considered, that in the forty-seventh verse of the same chapter, we meet with the expression, "He that believeth in him (i. e. Christ) hath everlasting life." Faith, therefore, is the manner in which Christ is taken in the sacrament; and faith is the evidence of things "not seen;" not the objects of the senses. The words are figurative; for that Christ often spoke figuratively, appears from John, x. 7; John, xv. 1; John, ii. 19; where he calls himself a vine, a door, and a temple:—was he literally a vine, and a door, and a temple*?

If the wine was really the blood, it was contained

* See Bishop of Durham's Grounds reconsidered, page 1, &c.; and his explanation of the antepenult answer in the Catechism.

in the cup; and yet our Lord employs the expression (Luke, xxii. 20), "This cup is the new testament in my blood." Here, then, is the most wonderful miracle of all: the cup was in the blood, and the blood was in the cup! Neither could the cup be a testament or covenant, it could only be the sign of a covenant.

The Catholics further urge, that all things are possible with God. True: all things, excepting such as are impossible in their own nature: God cannot destroy his own existence; and, in the same manner, he cannot make one body occupy two portions of space at the same time. Transubstantiation, according to another argument, is not more difficult to be conceived than the doctrine of the Trinity. But with what justice can this be pretended? Transubstantiation contradicts reason: the Trinity only rises above its comprehension. Once more.—The advocates of Catholicism affirm, that it is the glorified body of Christ that is eaten in the eucharist: we must remember, however, that Christ's body was not glorified in the first participation of the sacrament: and though it had been so, still, if any substantial bodily form is asserted whatever, it is impossible that such form should exist in two places at once.

In fine: the English church believes, that its members receive SPIRITUALLY in the holy sacrament, that which exists there SPIRITUALLY; but does not acknowledge the presence of Christ in

that rite, in a visible, transubstantiated form. There is the same relation between Christ and faith, as between natural food, and the faculty of eating : and as participation of Christ's body and blood in a spiritual sense is an act of faith, it is only to believers that the graces and benefits of the sacrament are and can be imparted.

From the doctrine of transubstantiation proceeds the ADORATION OF THE HOST *. To this our church alludes in forbidding the sacrament to be lifted up, carried about, or worshipped, superstitious practices of Roman Catholic countries, the impropriety of which may be inferred as a corollary from what has been already stated ; for if Christ were personally and really present, he might be worshipped ; whereas his presence is spiritual, and confined to the faithful. " He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood," says our Saviour, in St. John's Gospel, vi. 5, 6, " dwelleth in me, and I in him ;" but Christ, it is certain, dwelleth not with the wicked ; for (1 John, iii. 17), " If any man shut up the bowels of compassion, how dwelleth the love of God in him?" and (2 Cor. vi. 14), " What fellowship hath light with darkness ? &c." and again (1 John, i. 6, 7), " If we say that we have fellowship with him, and walk in darkness, we lie, and do not

* By the council of Trent it is directed, that, "*Latriæ cultum qui vero Deo debetur, huic sanctissimo sacramento exhibeant.*"

the truth." Christ's body, then, is not present by transubstantiation in the sacrament, since, if it were, it would be so alike to good and bad : from which it follows, that to adore the host, is to adore that as God, which is not God ; or idolatry.

But further : if Christ were bodily present by means of transubstantiation in the mass, then would he be bodily and literally sacrificed, at every mass, and by every communicant. Since without shedding of blood there is no remission, he would be frequently offered, and his blood would be often shed. (Heb. ix. 22.) But how would this accord with the whole of the ninth and tenth chapters of St. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews ? which inculcate that Christ was not to be offered up often, for then must he have often suffered ; but that he appeared once, to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself ; that he was once offered to bear the sins of many, and by this one offering hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified. Christ, therefore, cannot be present in the mass, in that sense, which would alone render an adoration of the host lawful.

The CELIBACY of the clergy, on which the church of Rome insists, is pronounced by the English church to be an unscriptural obligation. In the Epistle to the Hebrews, xiii. 4, it is said, without any qualification or exception, that " marriage is honourable in all." It is certain that Peter, and several other Apostles, were married

men (Matt. viii. 14): "Peter's wife's mother was sick of a fever:" and 1 Cor. ix. 5: "Have we not power to lead about a sister, a wife, as well as other Apostles, and the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas?" In 1 Tim. iii. 1, the qualifications of the wives of bishops are enumerated; and thus is the lawfulness of their marrying supposed; but this is more plainly stated in Titus, i. 6: "A bishop must be the husband of one wife; even so must their wives be grave, &c." Acts, xviii. 2, shows that Aquila was married: while the same is implied of Philip, Acts, xxi. 9. In 1 Tim. iv. 3, "the forbidding to marry" is specified as a proof of the degeneracy, which was to take place in the true religion. As to the verse, 1 Cor. vii. 28, it proves nothing; and the trouble in the flesh there mentioned, probably refers to persecution. The sentiments of the primitive church are best demonstrated by their practice. Tertullian, A. D. 198, addressed two books to his wife. Pope Siricius, A. D. 325, who is termed a weak man by Jerome, made the first attempt to enforce the celibacy of ecclesiastics: but it was not fully established in the church, till the end of the eleventh century. As Lanfranc imposed celibacy only on prebendaries, and the clergy residing in towns, it may be said, that the marriage of priests in England, was first generally prohibited by Anselm. Henry I. connived at the practice, and connivance was found necessary in sub-

sequent periods. At different times violent tumults were occasioned by disobedience of the orders respecting celibacy: the clergy never fully consenting to it, although such of their number as had wives were stigmatized with the opprobrious name of Nicolatians*. Opinions on the subject were divided at the time of the Reformation: a consciousness of the irregular and sensual manner of living occasioned by clerical celibacy, being balanced by an apprehension of that worldly-mindedness, with which marriage was likely to tincture ecclesiastics. One of the six articles condemned the marriage of priests; but it is warmly defended in a chapter of the *Reformatio Legum*.

* It is remarkable, that in the synod of Winchester, assembled by Anselm, the order enjoining the celibacy of the priests is accompanied with an appointment of penalties for unnatural offences †. In 1549, according to Burnet, it was declared in parliament, that it were better for priests to live unmarried, free from all worldly cares; yet since the laws compelling it had occasioned great filthiness, they are all repealed. It was the object of Rome, in establishing its spiritual dominion, to draw away the clergy of different countries from that allegiance to the state, of which their children were found to be pledges.

The question respecting the expedience of clerical marriage in particular cases, is, after all, quite a different matter from that of its general lawfulness; and the strictures of Professor Hey, in his lecture on the thirty-third article, concerning the former point, may be recommended to the perusal of ecclesiastics.

When an irritable temper is a minister's besetting sin, it would

† Collier, vol. i.

In attributing to the king the chief power in his own dominions, the church of England differs from the members of the Catholic persuasion, who maintain that AN ECCLESIASTICAL SUPREMACY AND JURISDICTION belongs to the Pope in foreign countries. For the three first centuries, the church was governed by no prince; Christianity not having been the established religion of any country: but the emperors, after the conversion of Constantine, possessed the supreme jurisdiction, and the papal pretensions to authority in different realms were, undoubtedly, a subsequent usurpation. St. Cyprian affirms that all bishops were equal in power: in the first council of Nice, the bishops of Alexandria and Antioch were held to be equal to the bishop of Rome: and when Constantinople became the imperial city, it obtained equal dignity in ecclesiastical matters with the capital of Italy *.

probably (though not of commandment) be good for him if he abide unmarried; always, however, adverting to the exception mentioned in 1 Cor. vii. 9. Again: if marriage be likely to straiten his temporal circumstances, prudence seems to enjoin his refraining from placing himself in a predicament in which his duties as a minister and a parent might clash; in which a reasonable regard for the interests of his family, and an assertion of his full rights, might wear the aspect of rapaciousness; and his compliance with the text, "If any provide not for his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel," be at war with his desire to avoid being classed with those "who seek *their own*, and not the things of Christ Jesus."

* In Boyer's Lives of the Popes, vol. ii. page 500, Gregory I.

If the bishop of Rome claims supremacy as successor of St. Peter, it is replied, that all the Apostles were invested with equal authority; that Paul was the Apostle sent to the Gentiles; and that that Apostle, by his reproofing Peter, may be regarded as having superior power. (Galat. ii. 9, &c.) Or do the Pope's pretensions in England rest, on Augustine's having been sent to convert the Saxons? The Britons were converted before the arrival of that missionary: and even if it had been otherwise, all churches, with Rome itself, should owe allegiance and subjection to the church of Jerusalem.

To prove the consonance of the king's jurisdiction in ecclesiastical matters with the holy Scriptures, it has been observed, that Aaron submitted to Moses; that Samuel called Saul the head of the tribes; that Solomon judged Abiathar; and that David, Solomon, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, and Josias, made laws or appointments about ecclesiastical affairs. (Exod. xxii. 22; Deut. xiii. 5; 1 Kings, iii. 26; 1 Chron. xxviii. 21; 2 Chron. xix. 5—9; and viii. 14, 15; and xxix. 4, 11, 21, 31; xxx. 1; xxxi. 2.) "Submit yourselves to the king as supreme," says St. Peter (1 Pet. ii. 13); and the text, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's," shows that

says that God gave the Emperor, *dominari sacerdotibus*. Till the time of Gregory VII. the election of popes was constantly confirmed by the Emperor.

Christianity was not designed by its Founder to interfere with the government of any country *.

As to the expression addressed by Christ to Peter, "Upon this rock will I build my church," the ancients understood by it the confession Peter had made; as they explained the commandment, "Feed my sheep," to signify simply a restoration of Peter to the ministerial office after his fall.

In England, prior to the Norman conquest, the Pope's supremacy was never allowed. Ina, Alfred, Edgar, Canute, made laws relating to ecclesiastical matters; and even from William the Conqueror to Henry VIII. nearly all the kings disputed the point of supreme power with Rome.

I have been induced to enter here at considerable length into an enumeration of the Catholic corruptions, not only by the necessity of such an inquiry to the clear understanding of many subsequent parts of this History, but that readers may learn to appreciate rightly the improved doctrine now taught; and at a time when public measures are in agitation, for an emancipation, or more enlarged toleration of the Catholics in our country, to beware, in exercising Christian charity, or imparting political liberty, of being deceived by their arguments, or of relapsing into their errors, in relation to points of doctrine.

Let the common people value their Bibles, and

* Burnet's Hist. of Reform. A. D. 1553, Book 1. Abridgment, Oxford edit. page 59.

read them ; let them beware of persecution or unchristian reproach in intercourse with their Catholic brethren. Let them avoid controversy ; but, if puzzled by any argument, remember that there is an answer, although they have it not in their memories ; and above all, endeavour, under divine grace, to show forth the effects of their purer faith in the stricter regulation of their conduct, in adorning the uncorrupted doctrine of their God and Saviour by a pious and holy life. “ Our wise and worthy progenitors,” says the excellent Bishop Burnet, “ have reformed our doctrine and worship, but we have not reformed our lives and manners. What will it avail us to understand the right methods of worshipping God, if we are without true devotion, and coldly perform public offices, without sense and affection, which is as bad as a bead-roll of prayers, in whatever language they are pronounced ? What signifies our having the sacraments purely administered among us, if we either contemptuously neglect, or irreverently handle them, more, perhaps, in compliance with law, than out of a sense of the holy duties incumbent on us ? For what end are the Scriptures put into our hands, if we do not read them with great attention, and order our lives according to them ? And what does all preaching signify, if men go to church merely for form, and hear sermons only as set discourses, which they will censure or commend

as they see cause, but are resolved never to be the better for them * ?”

* Although our great civil historian cannot deliver himself with seriousness, in speaking of Christianity in general, yet whenever he compares the different modifications in point of form which it has undergone in different states, he is usually discerning and liberal enough to give a decided preference to the moderate constitution of the English ecclesiastical discipline.

“Of all the European churches,” says he, “which shook off the yoke of papal authority, no one proceeded with so much reason and moderation as the church of England: an advantage which had been derived partly from the interposition of the civil magistrate in this innovation, and partly from the gradual and slow steps by which the reformation was conducted in that kingdom. Rage and animosity against the Catholic religion was as little indulged as could be supposed in such a revolution. The fabric of the secular hierarchy was maintained entire. The ancient liturgy was preserved, so far as was thought consistent with the new principles; many ceremonies, become venerable from age and preceding use, were retained; the splendour of the Romish worship, though removed, had at least given place to order and decency; the distinctive habits of the clergy, according to their different ranks, were continued. No innovation was admitted merely from spite and opposition to former usage; and the new religion, by mitigating the genius of the ancient superstition, and rendering it more compatible with the peace and interests of society, has preserved itself in that happy medium which wise men have always sought, and which the people have so seldom been able to maintain.”—*Hume.—Elizabeth.*

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D. Knodé.

Grant, Johnson

A summary of the history of the English Church, and of the sects which
have departed from its communion with answers to each dissenting body on
its pretended grounds of separation

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